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"I FEEL LIKE A GOOD WORKOUT," Lieutenant W. J. Lyster of the Pittsburgh Coal Company's private police is reported to have said on the night of February 9. The scene was the barracks of the coal and iron police at Imperial, Pennsylvania, and a miner named John Barkoski had just been brought in charged with stabbing a private policeman after the latter had invaded his house while drunk. The miner, badly beaten, was lying on the floor. Lieutenant Lyster, according to an eye-witness, stripped to the waist, walked to the coal box, and picked up a poker. He beat Barkoski over the head until the poker was bent almost double; then he paused, straightened the poker, and returned to his task. When the miner was beaten into unconsciousness, so it is charged, Lieutenant Lyster and Private H. P. Watts, the latter also of the coal and iron police, jumped upon the prostrate man's body. The miner died the next morning, and when his body was taken home to his wife and four children his hands were swollen to twice their size from warding off blows, his nose was fractured, his entire rib structure was broken, and his lungs were punctured in many places. Lyster, Watts, and another man are in prison charged with murder, all Western Pennsylvania is aroused, and at least three bills have been prepared by members of the State Legislature calling for the abolition of the coal and iron police. While sobbing over the body of her husband Mrs. Barkoski said: "Why they beat him I don't know. He never done nothing to nobody."

THE LAST DAYS of the present session of Congress will be critical ones for the small progressive bloc which is trying so valiantly to force through reform legislation and to defeat reaction. The Fenn reapportionment bill, the Wagner bill for employment exchanges, and the Jones "prosperity reserve" bill which provides for long-range planning of public works, are three measures which deserve the heartiest support. Also public pressure should force the complete investigation of the Salt Creek oil leases which were described by Paul Blanshard in last week's *Nation*. Of all these measures the reapportionment bill seems most likely to pass and its defeat would be most inexcusable. The House, which is chiefly concerned with reapportionment, has already passed the Fenn bill, and only partisan log-rolling can prevent its passage in the Senate. Progressive citizens of every shade should rally to the defeat of the Johnson bill which would permit the deportation of any unfortunate aliens who had been sentenced to two or more years in prison for any offense during the first ten years of their residence in America. In practice such a law might lead to the wholesale deportation of radical labor leaders who were unlucky enough to fall into the hands of a prejudiced judge.

ENTIRELY INDEFENSIBLE is the action of President Coolidge in appointing three "lame ducks" to be judges, two to the Court of Customs Appeals and one as associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Of the first two, one is ex-Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin, the other Representative Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee, the present Democratic leader of the House, who has lost his job by vote of his constituents. Ex-Senator Lenroot, while personally popular in Washington, has played such a wretched political role that he certainly deserves no Presidential consideration. Elected as a Progressive, and much opposed to our going into the war until we went into it, he then abandoned his political ideals and became one of the most reactionary standpatters. On being defeated for reelection by the people of Wisconsin, who felt that he had broken faith with them, he became one of the attorneys and lobbyists for the Power Trust in Washington, a post which is reported to have netted him large sums of money. Why he should now be put on the bench is incomprehensible. He has never been a bona fide practitioner of the law. As for the third appointee, Henry H. Glassie, he was refused confirmation as a member of the Tariff Commission when appointed by President Coolidge, the Senate having valid reasons for his rejection. Now he is to be a justice in the District of Columbia. This

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is the very kind of playing politics with the bench to which we refer elsewhere in our comment on the bankruptcy scandal. It puts politics into the judiciary and the judiciary into politics. It spells the appointment of unfit men to reward them for political services rendered. Why should anyone wonder that the judiciary fails to command the respect that it should, and that it is from time to time disgraced by avoidable scandals?

THE NEWS FROM NICARAGUA continues to be as consistent as a crazy quilt. On February 8 martial law was proclaimed in the four northern departments of Nicaragua where General Sandino and his men are concentrated. On February 9 the Nicaraguan Legation in Washington made public this statement: "This legation has been officially informed by the Nicaraguan Government that Sandino's bands have left Nicaraguan territory and that peace has been reestablished throughout Nicaragua." On February 10 United States Marine Headquarters in Managua called the statement "premature." Sandino himself, according to this report, has become almost a negligible factor in the situation but without the activity of the marines and the Nicaraguan national guard "organized banditry would again develop into a real menace." The same dispatch carried reports that a "roving band of outlaws" had killed four natives and that, as usual, "a marine patrol was sent to the scene." Meanwhile a resolution is pending in Congress which would authorize a survey of canal routes in Nicaragua. Those in favor of the canal say that if traffic through the Panama Canal continues to increase at its present rate, the limit of its capacity will be reached in forty to seventy-five years.

LABOR HAS WON four by-elections in a row in England, two of them former Tory strongholds, and if this is not a strong sign of the way the wind is blowing it is sufficient to cause considerable flutter in Government breasts. The total votes in the four elections number 54,901 cast for Labor, 31,147 for the Conservatives, and 18,896 for the Liberals. A comparable vote in the coming election would mean an actual Labor majority, something which only the most pessimistic of Tories have dared to fear and only a few ultra cheerful Laborites have presumed to hope for. But, of course, every new by-election won for Labor not only adds its member to the growing list in the House of Commons but is a tenfold encouragement to other Labor voters. Sir Herbert Samuel said the other day that "Mr. Lloyd George, myself, and other Liberal leaders have pledged ourselves that on no account will we put the Labor Party into office." This can as easily be a boomerang to the Liberals as a blow to Labor. For if there are voters who have hesitated to join Labor's ranks and have assuaged their consciences by believing that to vote Liberal means to vote against the Tories, they can thus comfort themselves no longer. They must make a flat choice between left and right, and that many are choosing the left is indicated by every new election return.

OIL PROFITS have brought about the downfall of another public official, this time former District Attorney Asa Keyes of Los Angeles. On February 8 he was convicted by a Superior Court jury of conspiracy and bribery in connection with the famous Julian Petroleum cases, which were described in *The Nation* of July 4, 1928. His conviction illustrates the great difficulty which the voters have in judging a public prosecutor. Almost inevitably the prosecutor who wins the most public support is the one who makes the most effective exhibition of himself in the newspapers. Keyes was a past master in the art of talking for the press, and his declarations blinded the voters of Los Angeles to the fact that while denouncing alleged lawbreakers in sensational headlines he prosecuted them so gently that acquittal was inevitable. We hope that the clean-up in Los Angeles will not stop until the charge has been investigated more thoroughly that Aimee Semple McPherson gave a large sum of money as a hush fund to Mr. Keyes. This charge seems particularly plausible now that Mr. Keyes's record has been revealed and since the confession by Superior Judge Carlos S. Hardy that he accepted a $2,500 check from Mrs. McPherson while acting on the bench. Judge Hardy has been expelled from the American Bar Association for unprofessional conduct, but the one and original Aimee is still saving souls after the peculiarly abrupt dropping of the conspiracy case against her by Mr. Keyes.

WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT a nation to have a dozen bills of rights so long as its local police force is a law unto itself? That is the discouraging question suggested by the latest annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union, which shows that free-speech prosecutions and police raids on meetings were more common in 1928 than in any year since the Palmer "red raids." The attacks upon civil liberties in 1928 were in most cases the work of local police officers who set out to smash some communist or semi-communist organization by direct action. Once the Industrial Workers of the World were the object of special police hatred; now their place has been taken by the members of the Workers (Communist) Party. Since the only protection against local police tyranny is the development of a strong public sentiment in behalf of civil liberties, the appeal of the American Civil Liberties Union for cooperation comes with double force. The summary of its program for 1929 is most challenging:

> (1) The fight to clean up the regime of the coal and iron police and State troopers in Pennsylvania. (2) The campaign for restoration of citizens' rights to 1,500 victims of the war-time Espionage Act. (3) The test of the constitutionality of all anti-evolution laws by a test case in Arkansas. (4) The campaign through the National Mooney-Billings Committee for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. (5) The campaign for release of seven members of the I. W. W., under life sentences for deaths resulting when members of the American Legion raided their hall in Centralia, Washington, November 11, 1919.

IT IS EVER A PLEASURE to welcome Fridtjof Nansen to this country; this time we particularly wish him success on his speaking tour to elicit interest and aid for his scientific trip to the Arctic in the airship Graf Zeppelin next year. The combination of statesman and scientist is rarely found. It is at its best in Dr. Nansen. Of all the men who bulked largest at the Versailles Peace Conference none has stood up better in the lapse of years than this great Norwegian. Here is one public man who does not allow his humanitarian impulses to be sidetracked by red tape,

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routine, or the heartlessness of ordinary diplomatic procedure. He still feels deep indignation at the plight of the Armenians, abandoned by the Allies after they had invested 200,000 lives in the Allied cause. He is still as alert to suffering everywhere as when he headed the movements to succor the starving Russians and the Greek refugees. As for his Polar voyage, it will have as its objective no stunts and nothing sensational, but it promises to have most valuable results if only in its proof, or disproof, of the value of the Zeppelin in Arctic exploration. The German Government has lent the Zeppelin, and the Russian and Norwegian governments are cooperating vigorously. From the United States Dr. Nansen hopes to secure landing arrangements at Nome. We earnestly hope that Congress and Mr. Hoover will respond promptly and generously.

CALVIN COOLIDGE, upon retiring from the Presidency, is going to write books. This news should not be treated frivolously. Ex-Presidents have to find something to do. Frequently they take to the law, but occasionally they go in for such varied occupations as hunting big game and editing magazines, or becoming Supreme Court justices. Why shouldn't Mr. Coolidge choose to write a book? He hardly seems to be cut out for the hunt; and while he might take up fishing in a serious way, it is not as good a year-round occupation as book-writing. Fishing requires various kinds of paraphernalia—hooks, lines, sinkers, worms, and other complicated equipment. To write books all you need is a typewriter, some paper, and a supply of words. Words—there's a rub! We had failed to consider the word problem. Where will Calvin find them? It would, we imagine, be easier to dig worms than words. Has he considered this difficulty? We suppose he must have, for our President is a man who makes few decisions impulsively and without forethought. He doubtless knew eight years ago that he was going to need a lot of words one of these days, and began saving them—along with his wages. "Not a word—not a penny—wasted" was his White House motto. So that now, when the pinch comes, Calvin will undoubtedly find that his hoarded words and his hoarded money will both come in handy.

THE PATHS OF GLORY, in these days, lead but to the newspapers. The romance of "We" went to the head (two-column) even of the stately New York *Times,* while the tabloids seized upon this pearl with their usual delicacy. We are privileged to read "the exclusive story of the wooing and winning of Anne Morrow" which is "packed with heart throbs." We are informed that the "love cote" will be furnished with the gifts Lindy has received from his admirers. We have a desolate impression that they will live in a museum and eat their first meal off of Congressional medals while they contemplate "a giant spool of California redwood around which was wound a petition signed by 100,000 school-children of San Francisco" or "two silver spheres worth $14,000." The New York *American,* too, has a nose for news. It prints a story of the illness of Dwight Morrow, Jr., under the headline: "Brother of Lindy's Fiancee in Hospital"; and we have no doubt that when next Mr. Morgan gets into the news he will be designated merely as "Former Partner of Father of Lindy's Fiancee."

Protected Art

THE final ignominy of the scramble for tariff favors has not been spared us. Eight hundred members of the recently organized American Artists' Professional League, purporting to represent the artists of this country, have trotted to the trough and petitioned Congress for protection from foreign painters. They ask for a duty on the importation of all works of art by foreign artists executed within thirty years of the date of entry.

The names of the 800 petitioners do not appear in the League's circular. But the advisory board includes such recognized painters as Frank Benson, Emil Carlsen, Charles Dana Gibson, Childe Hassam, Edmund Tarbell, Horatio Walker, and Ezra Winter, and such established architects as H. Van Buren Magonigle, Ralph Adams Cram, and Cass Gilbert. Is it possible that these men have knowingly lent their names to this piteous plea for protection from cut-rate foreign talent? For they themselves are the best proof that, despite an era of free trade in art, American artists can pursue lucrative careers.

Inasmuch as every form of European decorative art in furniture, metal-work, and ceramics that has revived design in industry in this country during the last three years is already heavily taxed under existing schedules, the proposed tariff is directed solely against painters and sculptors of the present generation. And as the sale here of modern Russian, Polish, English, and German painters is almost negligible, the tariff is, in effect, directed against France—despite the fact that the only French painters with prestige enough to command a market here sell, not at low prices, but at exceedingly high ones. One could buy a picture by the League's chairman, Ballard Williams, or its treasurer, Guy C. Wiggins, for far less than a first-rate Matisse, Derain, or de Segonzac.

The economics of the picture market is not that of hides, wool or sugar. Critical prestige and critical prestige alone, whether modernist or academic, fanned by the press, approved by well-known collectors, exploited by dealers, and punctuated by medals and awards, sets the price of any painting. Until his reputation begins to be established, no painter, whether foreign or American, can ask prices that will cover either his rent or his annual bill for frames, canvas, and paints.

But the worst aspect of this parochial gesture is that it becomes a futile slap in the face of the modern painters whose success here has helped the younger American artists to increase their prestige and command a market. Almost every important collector of contemporary art in this country has begun by buying Renoir, Degas, and Cézanne, and then, after having lived with them long enough, discovered young American painters who compared so favorably that he added them to his collection. The International Exhibitions of the Carnegie Institute not only startled the country by giving first prizes to Matisse and Derain, but by awarding third prizes to Andrew Dasburg and Glenn Coleman. The Corcoran Annual Exhibition has just followed suit with a prize to Bernard Karfiol.

No American painter of talent, let alone genius, needs the spurious aid of a protective tariff.

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Teeth for the Kellogg Treaty

OUR feeling that Congress does not take the Kellogg Treaty seriously is reinforced by its attitude toward the proposals of Senator Capper and Representative Porter to give the agreement teeth through use of the embargo. Certainly both of these resolutions contain dynamite. While designed to accomplish excellent objects, their application might entail consequences which should be thoroughly explored and considered before any action is taken. Senator Capper recognized this by announcing that he did not expect to ask for action in regard to his resolution either at the present or at the extra session of Congress; his idea was to obtain public discussion of the plan between now and the regular session of the next Congress. His proposal, as also that of Representative Porter, deserves the careful and serious attention of all Americans.

For this reason it is dispiriting to see most of the members of Congress, and other public officials, running away from the Capper and Porter proposals as fast as their legs will carry them. The Capper proposal, when first published, received a great deal of attention in the press, including much favorable comment. But hardly a dozen men in Congress have cared to talk about it publicly and most of them have made brief and guarded comments which contributed nothing to the discussion. The general desire seems to be to envelop the proposal in obliterating silence as soon as possible. Similar treatment has been accorded to the Porter resolution, which was made public only a day after Senator Capper's suggestion. Mr. Porter announced that his resolution had the support of Secretary Kellogg and that the latter would come before the Committee on Foreign Relations to say so, but when the head of the State Department appeared his approval was vague and indefinite, and his entire conversation showed that he did not understand and was not interested in the subject.

The gist of the Capper plan was printed in our last issue. It would empower the President to forbid the exportation of "arms, munitions, implements of war, or other articles for use in war" to any country which the Chief Executive judged had violated the Kellogg Treaty. The Porter resolution would extend an existing law, passed in 1912, by which the President may place an embargo upon the exportation of war munitions to an *American* country, or to one where we exercise extraterritorial rights, in case of conflict. Mr. Porter would make this apply to *any* country in which the President determines that "conditions of domestic violence or of international conflict exist or are threatened." In other words, the President could throw his might not only against a nation which went to war in the face of a promise to arbitrate, but he would have similar power in case of domestic revolution, or merely in event of a threat of one or the other of those situations.

As we said last week, the Capper resolution is a logical extension of the Kellogg Treaty; it is designed to put teeth in it by means of economic pressure. Those who take the Kellogg Treaty seriously ought to favor peaceable means for giving it authority, although, as we pointed out last week, the power to declare a nation to be a violator of the Kellogg Treaty should not logically be vested in our President alone. A violation of the treaty is an offense against all its signers and is a question to be established by a common decision rather than the individual determination of any one nation. Other commentators on the subject have stressed this point, as well as the difficulty of deciding if a nation has violated its treaty obligations. "How shall we know," asks the New York *Evening Post,* "which is the nation that 'violates' the Kellogg peace pact? And what shall we do if that formally labeled 'violator' appears to us to be fighting a righteous war and one that supports our own national interests?" The Detroit *Free Press* sees a still further objection: "The sanctionless nature of the treaty was what commended it to a large element in this country that has steadfastly refused to enter the Covenant of the League of Nations. . . . A punitive armament embargo would hamstring the anti-war pact by alienating the sympathy that it attracts because of its purely moral obligation."

Except for the objection to giving to our President alone the power to determine that some other nation is a violator of the Kellogg Pact, the Capper resolution seems to us to be safer and more logical than the proposal of Representative Porter. The Capper resolution confines action to actual war and to the signers of the Kellogg Treaty. The Porter plan would give our President a roving commission as a knight-errant of peace which, beautiful in theory, might in practice result in some vicious meddling. There would be scant prospect that the President would take action against the larger nations, but he might easily be induced to intervene in the quarrels of smaller ones and would naturally be under pressure to use his power against "radical" governments. The latter danger would be still greater in the case of revolutionary movements within any one country. We have already seen this in Latin America, as witness recent history in Nicaragua. In reciting the history of the present embargo law—applying to American countries, or those where we exercise extraterritorial rights—Mr. Porter said that it had been invoked three times, in each instance against Mexico. But Mr. Porter forgot the exceedingly instructive story of the embargo as used recently by President Coolidge in Nicaragua. At the time when the Liberal forces, in support of the constitutional claims of Sacasa to the Presidency, began their campaign against the self-elected President, Diaz, there was an embargo against shipment of arms from the United States to Nicaragua. It had been laid, perhaps properly, to prevent sporadic revolutionary activity. The embargo should either have been continued as it stood, or lifted entirely. But Diaz was our puppet, and early in 1927 we clamped down the embargo tighter than ever against the Liberals but lifted it for Diaz. A little later our Government itself sold him arms. This was not calculated to bring peace but solely to serve what Washington regarded as our national interests. In fact our policy kept the Diaz Government alive at a moment when otherwise it would have been quickly deposed and brought about a long and bloody period of civil strife, not even yet ended.

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The Vatican Settlement

THE definite recognition by Italy of the papal claim to terrestrial sovereignty is not made less important by the fact that the earthly territory over which Pius XI is to rule comprises only one-sixth of a square mile. The Act of Conciliation which has been signed by Premier Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri, and which, together with the new concordat and financial convention, is shortly to be ratified by Victor Emmanuel III and Pius XI, will rank as one of the historic steps of the twentieth century. In our opinion it is a step backward. And this not on the ground that it strengthens the Vatican's position (which it undoubtedly does) but on the ground that it weakens the true spiritual power of religion by injecting one important branch of Christendom into mundane politics; and that in effect it gives the appearance of religious sanction to a regime which exalts the suppression of human liberty and the perpetuation of war between the nations.

The Nation by no means shares the view of those who see in the treaties a return to the medieval relation of church and state. The Roman Catholic religion does not become the state religion of Italy by these instruments, for it has always been recognized as such, even under the "anti-clerical" constitution of 1848, under which the Pope was dispossessed of his earthly sovereignty. Compulsory religious instruction in the schools conducted by priests appointed by the church has been the law of the land since Mussolini's accession to power; but (to judge from the official résumé of the treaties) children of Protestant parents can still be excused upon request, and Protestant private schools will not be interfered with so long as they live up to the government's educational requirements. Religious marriage is recognized as having civil validity (as, curiously enough, is the case in the United States), but unless there are provisions which the official résumé does not mention, civil marriage alone is still valid. In effect the religious orders have been permitted to own corporate property and exercise their functions undisturbed for some years. And, in the matter of canon law—the point on which most confusion seems to exist—there is no question of Italy adopting canon law as civil law, but only of using the secular arm to enforce the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts where that is requested. In other words, the treaties for the most part only perpetuate a situation which has partly obtained under the most anti-clerical governments and has very largely obtained since Mussolini came into power.

The really reactionary quality of the treaties is to be found not in the immediate situation created by them, but in the principle acknowledged as to the position which the church should occupy in the modern state. Sixty years ago the liberal government of Italy acted upon the belief that the church—all churches—should be completely free in the exercise of spiritual dominion and completely estopped from the exercise of temporal dominion. Now this experiment has been acknowledged by the Italian Government to have been a failure. It is admitted that a church has the inherent right to political sovereignty. This is the central point on which the Vatican has insisted during its sixty-year breach with the Italian Government. It has conceded innumerable material points, but it has won a complete victory on this central point of principle.

The Roman Catholic church is now a political power, equal in the absoluteness of its earthly sovereignty to Italy, Great Britain, and the United States of America. *The Nation,* which during the recent Presidential election repeatedly stated that the religious faith of Alfred E. Smith was no bar to his fitness for the Presidency, certainly does not charge that the Vatican now plans, contrary to its categorical utterances, to interfere in the political affairs of Europe or of America. But it is clear that, despite the expressed intentions of Pius XI, the Roman Catholic church became involved in politics the moment the Act of Conciliation was signed. And all the world has the feeling, rightly or wrongly, that somehow the whole moral force of the Italian Catholic church is now to be placed behind the Mussolini dictatorship.

During the six decades in which the Vatican has been officially denied terrestrial sovereignty the spiritual authority of the church has been greatly enhanced. A powerful body of Roman Catholic opinion has held that the resumption of the temporal power was inadvisable—that the Pope, vividly dramatized by his "self-imposed imprisonment" as a spiritual ruler, exercised a far more august authority in the religious sphere than he could exercise when involved in the nationalistic diplomatic deals of Europe. With this view we agree. In spite of the temporary victory of the Vatican in Italy, the church is likely to lose more than it gains in the United States because of the deep-seated belief of most of our people in the permanent separation of church and state. If this agreement had come before the election it would have cost Alfred E. Smith many votes.

Bankruptcy Scandals

MORE than a hundred years ago Lord Eldon inveighed against the bankruptcy evil. It was corrupting the bar and the courts. It was staining the ermine. Well, in 1929 there has appeared additional proof of the correctness of these lamentations, for a United States judge, Francis A. Winslow, has been charged upon the floor of the House of Representatives with having been "improperly influenced by . . . members of his favored [bankruptcy] group," and having "ruled improperly by reason of such influence." Congressman La Guardia, with commendable passion for the purity of the courts, has demanded the immediate action for which Judge Winslow has asked. The Department of Justice having refused to act, Mr. La Guardia has asked the House Judiciary Committee to do so. Thus have the bankruptcy scandals, the revealing of which is to be credited to the New York *World,* come squarely before the public.

So far the federal courts of the Southern District of New York have been singularly free from scandal, which makes the present case the more regrettable. Not that we would prejudge Judge Winslow. It may well be that he is the victim of circumstances or that he has been "framed up." In these days of calendars overcrowded with prohibition cases and the corridors of the courts clogged with bootleggers, "hijackers," and riff-raff of all kinds with unlimited

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funds to spend, judges consider themselves fortunate if they are not betrayed by their minor attendants and employees. We would merely point out today that Judge Winslow has no such legal standing as most of his associates, and that he is the product of one of the most "hard-boiled" political machines—that of Westchester County, New York—through which he finally rose to be District Attorney of that county, and by the aid of which he was appointed to the bench in 1923 by President Harding. Again without prejudging, as long as men are put on the bench for political reasons or as a reward for excellent party service, scandals are invited. A politician rewarded with the ermine is rarely able to cancel all the debts of his past, or cut all the strings that tie him to men with whom he worked in politics.

As for the bankruptcy situation, our judges are charged with the appointment of receivers. Responsible judges naturally choose those whom they know and feel they can trust; others please friends and political allies. Many of the cases involve endless labor and trifling pay. Judges of the finest caliber are therefore in the habit of choosing young men and women lawyers, but as the latter rise in experience, practice, and earning power they naturally ask for the better and more important cases, which carry handsome fees, and decline the unremunerative work. Undoubtedly there often has been, and is, favoritism to sons and relatives of political leaders and henchmen. Undoubtedly the system makes for laxity and easily opens the road to corruption. The judges can give no time to the work of their receivers. Indeed, there are already referees, who are judicial officers, to take testimony. If the slimy hands of politics reach into the situation in the form of "recommendations" from party bosses there is inevitably trouble ahead.

To remedy the situation the six federal judges of the Southern District of New York on January 16 took a step which is widely heralded as a death blow to political patronage and the so-called "bankruptcy ring." Through the presiding judge they announced that, following precedent in other districts, notably Detroit and Chicago, they had decided to hand over all bankrupt estates to the American Exchange-Irving Trust Company, which has organized a special department for handling them. It remains to be seen what effect this will have after it has been tried for several years. It will not, of course, please those members of the bar who have profited honestly by the former method. Nor will it satisfy those who feel that receivers in bankruptcy should also be semi-judicial officers appointed by the courts for life and in receipt of sufficient salaries to permit drawing into the work high-grade men, together with auditors to check each receiver's work. Some believe that in the long run the creditors themselves could perhaps bring about the best results by choosing by majority vote the man they wished to have appointed to take charge of the assets. Indeed, some judges have made a practice of asking the creditors to suggest the receiver. When it is recalled that there are about 2,000 bankruptcies in the Southern District of New York every year, the magnitude of the task of choosing honest and efficient receivers becomes plain. But this is, of course, no excuse for what has been unearthed in New York City—favored lawyers obtaining receivership after receivership, the robbing and mismanagement of bankrupt estates, and their conduct not in the interest of justice but of the politicians and their henchmen.

Beauty as a Career

THE recent death of Lily Langtry—Lady de Bathe—at the age of seventy-five reminds us again that one career has been consistently open since the beginning of time to the woman fortunate enough to be capable of it. It requires no experience, no training; no tutors or governesses can help, no burning of midnight oil can hinder. A mere magic wand, a single Good Fairy at a christening, and it is done. To be a beauty is the most ancient and still the most envied of professions to which women can aspire.

Thus Lily Langtry—born Emelie Le Breton, daughter of the dean of the Isle of Jersey—at twenty is described as of a graceful and well-proportioned figure, with blue eyes, a pure white skin, an abundance of chestnut hair, and an amiable and innocent expression. If she was cultivated or wise or good it is not thereby that she presently became the most famous woman in England. She was beautiful. That was enough to gain her entree to the innermost circles of English society, to the Prince of Wales himself; that was enough to make the leading painters of the day want to paint her portrait, the leading dramatists write plays about her. And she was equal to her opportunities; with the single-mindedness of any artist, she saw that to be a beauty was for her more important than to observe the ordinary regularities of behavior to which more ordinary persons are thought to be in honor bound. When through some caprice or other she was no longer *persona grata* with royalty and royalty's friends, she quite rightly decided to capitalize her fame. She had become famous because she was a beauty; she would be more famous because of her earlier fame. Without pretensions to acting ability, she was for years successful as an actress. Her American tours helped to make her financially independent; her genuine business ability, both as her own manager and as the director of a large and successful racing stable, conserved and increased her wealth. Here was an artist who knew how to protect and preserve her gift. Men in America and in England paid large tribute to her loveliness; at forty-seven she married into one of the oldest families in England, and her husband was nearly twenty years her junior. Her last American appearance was at the age of sixty, and there are plenty of men and women alive now to testify to her continued and unfailing charm.

Thus triumphantly does the career of beauty proceed. The Madame de Staëls of the world have to work for their reward; they must search for the winning word, they must sweat for the laugh that will pronounce them a wit; the Lily Langtrys need only sit back and smile. For beauty not only fills the eye but the heart as well. Men and women are both won by it. In the height of its flowering it is seldom seen; yet literature from the Old Testament forward is overflowing with discussion of it; heroines of romance must be beautiful even before they are good, poets must place beauty ahead of everything else. Thus it is not to be wondered at that a certain young Englishwoman, with about the same business acumen as a French concierge, should have found it an easy task to find wealth, fame, and leisure. Beauty is a rare commodity, and the world is willing to pay handsomely for it.

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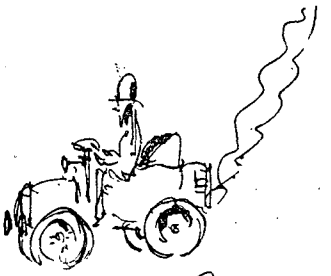
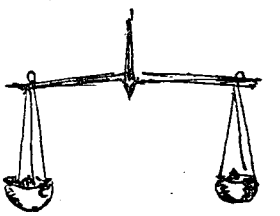


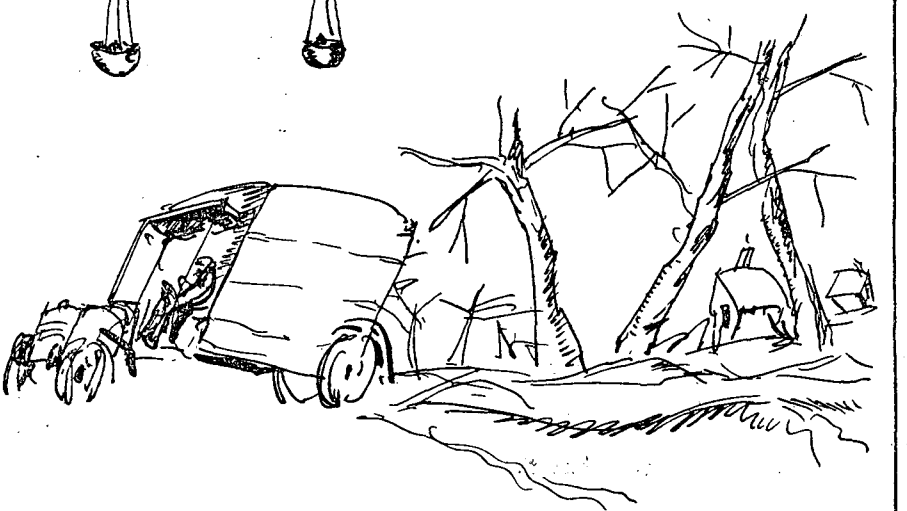
When Henry Ford invents a sewing-machine on wheels, we immediately declare him a philosopher and ask him for his opinions upon every subject under the sun;

and when Mr. Tunney knocks out Mr. Dempsey and we discover that Mr. Tunney can actually read and write, we hail him as the younger brother of Shakespeare;

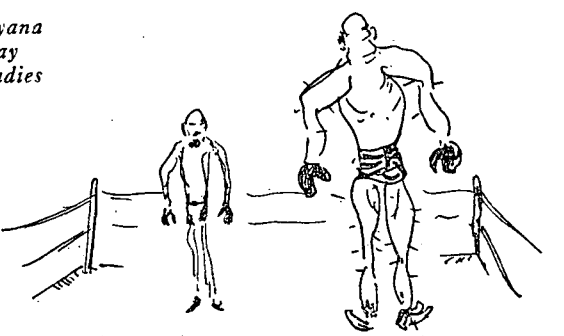
but it never seems to have struck any one that turn-about is fair play,



and that there is no earthly reason why, for example, Professor Einstein should not be suddenly promoted to the rank and dignity of a truck-driver,



or why Professor Santayana should not be called away from his philosophic studies long enough to fight a return engagement with Mr. Dempsey.



Turn-About Is Fair Play

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High Tariff Diplomacy

By DREW PEARSON

THE busiest spot on Capitol Hill these last months has been the hearing-room of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. The hall outside is packed with witnesses waiting to get their feet into the tariff trough. A steady stream of them flows into the hearing-room. One by one they trail down to the witness well. They inform the committee that an increased tariff is essential. It is essential for fly-paper and for Bibles, for gelatine and for gold-fish, for reindeer and for cosmetics, for court-plaster and for angostura bitters. They pack their allotted ten minutes full of warnings that their industry is bankrupt; that when they smash the entire community will suffer; that society owes them a livelihood. The story seldom varies.

About two miles away at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, another story is being told. Another stream of witnesses comes before the State and Commerce Departments. This stream does not self-advertise as well as the one on Capitol Hill. But it is more ominous. It takes the form of written and telegraphic warnings from American consuls and commercial attachés throughout the world; of public criticism of the tariff by the Ambassador of France; of a sharply worded note by the Ambassador of Cuba; of personal calls by the Ambassador of Spain; of a great stack of hostile editorials clipped from the press of our best customers and mailed to the State and Commerce Departments.

"The United States, in trade, is treating Canada as if she were a penal colony; this has got to stop," the Montreal *Gazette* warns. Since a tariff war is imminent, *Action Catholique* of Quebec suggests that "it would not be a bad idea if we started right now organizing ourselves for the fray." The Vancouver *Sun,* urging this tariff war, says: "Mackenzie King will be unworthy of the leadership of ten million Canadians if he allows this challenge to go unanswered." Even *Politiken* of Copenhagen comments upon the renewal of tariff hostilities between France and the United States, and concludes: "France feels—we think with certain right—that she is the representative of the whole of Europe against the hostile economic policy of America." In Buenos Aires, the Rural Society, most powerful cooperative in South America, starts a campaign for discriminatory duties against American automobiles and machinery.

So runs the tide of foreign warning that a higher American tariff wall will bring serious reprisals in our best markets. Officials of the Department which Herbert Hoover built up as chief promoter of American exports believe millions will be lost to American prosperity if the tariff pledges of their ex-chief are carried out. State Department officials see their program of most-favored-nation treaties completely ruined if the stream of tariff supplicants which appears before the Ways and Means Committee has its way.

Consider the facts. Consider the figures of what we lose and what we gain. Take the case of Argentina. That country sells us an average of one million bushels of corn every year. This corn reaches a few ports along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and because of its hard, flinty variety, is sold to pigeon and chicken fanciers, usually direct from the ship's hold because the cost of a rail haul inland would make the price prohibitive.

The farmers of the Middle West resent this. They object to the pigeons on the sea-coasts eating driblets of Argentine corn. It costs these farmers about thirty-four cents a bushel to ship corn to San Francisco and about twenty-two cents to ship to New York. The water haul from Argentina is about twelve cents. But they are not interested in the price which the bird fancier has to pay for his feed. Nor are they interested in the fact that the Argentine importation amounts to only .008 per cent of their total corn production. So they demand an increase of 100 per cent in the tariff on corn.

Compared to our paltry purchase of a million bushels of corn, Argentina buys from us more goods than any other Latin-American country. She buys from us about twice as much as we buy from her. But for the sake of $1,000,000 worth of pigeon feed we arouse Argentine prejudice and start an Argentine campaign to bar the $178,899,000 worth of automobiles and silk stockings and machinery which she purchases from us. Thus the tariff aids prosperity.

Or take the case of Canada. Canada and the United States carry on a larger volume of trade than is carried on between any other two nations in the world. Our sales to Canada last year were nearly twice as great as our sales to all of South America and Asia combined. This is not difficult to understand. The chief centers of Canadian population—Montreal, Toronto, Quebec, Vancouver—are located near the border within quick and cheap transportation distance of our industrial centers. The Canadian public reads American magazines and American advertising and has become accustomed to American types of goods. Result: we sell to Canada twice as much as we sell to our next best customer—Great Britain.

In return Canada sells to us about two-thirds as much as we sell to her. Much of this is extremely profitable to us. For instance, Canada sends lean steers from her Middle-Western and Rocky Mountain ranges across the border to be fattened by the American farmer. He makes one or two cents a pound on them before he ships them on to the packing-house. There are not many of these steers—a quarter million head last year. During the same period we slaughtered 14,000,000 head. However, this cattle immigration, small as it is, lean as it is, and profitable as it is to the American farmer of the Northwest, has not escaped the attention of the vigilant cattlemen of the South and Middle West, who now demand a tariff increase of 100 per cent against Canadian cattle on the hoof.

But—and this is why the Department of Commerce is worried about the future—during the same period that we purchased $15,000,000 worth of cattle from Canada, Canadian farmers increased their purchase of agricultural machinery from us by more than 100 per cent. The total spent on our agricultural machinery was $39,000,000.

The story could be repeated in somewhat similar de-

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tail in regard to Canadian wheat, or Canadian milk and cream, or Canadian flaxseed, or Canadian alfalfa seed. In every case Canadian prosperity brought American prosperity to certain areas and industries, but in every case the Ways and Means Committee has had vociferous demands for tariff increases. This is the particular worry of the Department of Commerce.

The Department of State has an even greater worry. That Department is in the middle of a half dozen diplomatic negotiations with our Northern neighbor which are difficult enough without being further complicated by Canadian ill-will. Secretary Kellogg has been trying to persuade the Dominion to proceed with the St. Lawrence Waterway, only to be informed that progress might be possible if the tariff on beef and fish was reduced. That was last summer. Instead of humoring the Canadian whim, the tariff is now to be increased. Secretary Kellogg has also been trying to persuade the Dominion to refuse clearances to liquor-laden ships bound for the United States, and to accept an infinitesmal number of radio wave-lengths as compared with the number we use. None of these negotiations is enhanced by Canadian irritation over the tariff. Already Premier Taschereau of Quebec has warned Prime Minister Mackenzie King that if Quebec does not get all the radio waves she needs, she will proceed to pirate the ether and take what she desires. Radio, prohibition, and the St. Lawrence Waterway happen to be three subjects which vitally interest the man who as Presidential candidate promised to "give the farmer the full benefit of our historic tariff policy." As President and as his own Secretary of State Mr. Hoover will no doubt soon get a taste of mixing the tariff with diplomacy.

In Europe the diplomatic situation created by high-tariff proposals is equally serious. For five years the United States has been endeavoring to negotiate new commercial treaties with practically every country in Europe. These treaties are considered extremely important to American commerce. Not only do they contain provisions for most-favored-nation tariff treatment, but also they bring up to date various commercial provisions now completely antiquated and negotiated as far back as 1850. We have made almost no progress in these negotiations. The ex-enemy countries and the new succession states, having no treaty relations with us, have been forced to sign them in order to trade and borrow money. Not so the rest of Europe. The tariff has been the reason.

Spain has refused us such a treaty, but granted temporary most-favored-nation treatment only because we threatened a tariff of sky-high retaliatory duties unless she did. But now we ourselves have removed the bite from our bark. President Coolidge has increased the duty on Spanish onions. The tariff on pimentos and peppers has been increased. Malaga grapes have been completely barred by the Horticultural Board. There is every prospect of an increase against Spanish tomatoes. In other words, we have already increased our tariff so high against Spanish imports that a retaliatory duty means nothing to Spain and she threatens to refuse us further most-favored-nation treatment. The situation is so serious that Secretary Kellogg has taken it up with President Coolidge.

With France it is even worse. Last year when France placed our goods on a less favored tariff basis than Germany's, we persuaded her to reinstate them partly through threats and partly through a promise that our Tariff Commission would examine French imports and see if the tariff could not be lowered. Since then the Tariff Commission has been working diligently. But it finds, alas, that on the basis of production costs in both countries the tariff on most French imports should be increased instead of lowered. In order not to wound French pride and the prospects of the commercial treaty, the Tariff Commission has suggested abandoning its investigation. But this is not all. To add to the State Department's troubles, vigorous and vehement requests have now been made before the Ways and Means Committee for increases against some of the most important commodities France sells the United States.

French merchants have become indignant. The French press decries "the one-sided application of the Franco-American tariff compromise," while Paul Claudel, French Ambassador but always the poet, protests publicly against the proposed increases and hopes "that the French spirit will be able to soar sufficiently high to overleap all barriers."

Meanwhile the commercial treaty with France is indefinitely shelved; we continue to limp along with no agreement more up-to-date between the two countries than the consular treaty of 1853; and the State Department continues to protest against the French habit of taxing American firms twice and the Paris rent law which prevents American property owners from evicting their tenants.

Finally there is Cuba. That island has been for years a one and one-half crop country—one part sugar to one-half part tobacco. Result: depressions from overproduction and price-slumps. On the recommendation of the New York bankers who finance Cuba, her planters have gone in for crop diversification. They have been raising tomatoes, green vegetables, and citrus fruits for the winter market in the United States. This has become a profitable and growing trade—too much so for competitors in Florida and Texas. The latter now propose tariff increases on Cuban fruits and vegetables. This is the least of Cuba's worries. In addition to proposals for tariff increases against Cuban tobacco, a determined lobby of Rocky Mountain and Louisiana sugar growers now demands an increased tariff against Cuban sugar. Judging from the temper of the Ways and Means Committee, and the fact that Reed Smoot is second in command of the Mormon church, largest beet-sugar producer, one predicts that they will get their increase.

The Cuban press has been printing columns of tariff criticism. The Cuban State Department has addressed a vitriolic note to the United States State Department. The Cuban Ambassador, Orestes Ferrara, has issued a warning that to increase the tariff on sugar means the abrogation of the Platt Amendment. Memory of Cuban vivas and Cuban roses hurled at Calvin Coolidge a year ago at the Pan-American Conference were all dispelled during one short hearing before the Ways and Means Committee!

And so it goes—ad infinitum. Some countries remain inarticulate. China is too unorganized; South Africa is too distant; Great Britain is too calloused to our regular eight-yearly spasm of tariff manipulating. But throughout the world resentment against an increase of the American tariff wall is mobilizing to block the economic and political needs of the United States and to take away in foreign trade more than can be made on increased prices to the consumer at home.

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What Is Sea Law?

By CARTER WILLIAMS

THE effect of the so-called peace pact upon the United States and the League, and the difficulties thereby added to the clarification of the law at sea in time of war, are already becoming apparent. The confusion of Senators on the general subject of codification of the sea law is not less disturbing.

It is well known that Great Britain during the war adopted certain practices in direct violation of international law which effectively wiped out the time-honored rights of neutrals to trade with other neutrals and even with belligerents. The so-called "blockade" was no blockade at all, and Britain during the war did not claim that it was a lawful blockade. She merely asserted that it was a reprisal for the German submarine campaign, whereas Germany defended the submarine as a reprisal for the illegal "blockade."

In the extension of belligerent claims, Britain received considerable aid from the United States Department of State, which by ineptness and essential want of neutrality permitted neutrals to be euchered out of one neutral right after the other. One need but mention the vacillating and almost indefensible position of the Department of State on "armed merchantmen." Little Holland, far more soundly advised than the great United States, refused to admit armed merchantmen to her ports, safeguarded her neutrality, and though harassed by both belligerents, kept out of the war and earned the respect of the world. The United States, through an incompetent Department of State, lost all its positions in every debate, and is now faced with the dilemma of saving for the world what in 1915 it permitted to slip away.

Since the war, Great Britain has apparently believed that those illegal practices, which during the war she found it possible with American acquiescence to pursue, might prove profitable hereafter, so that she has been unwilling to admit that the long-established rules of international law at sea were any longer valid or binding. In this she may profess to find support in American tolerance during the war and in the position taken since by a good many writers, who, enamored of the "new day" ushered in, as they claim, by the League of Nations, are unwilling to concede that neutrality has any importance for the future.

All this confusion supports Great Britain in its professed claim that the time-honored rules of international law are, after all, uncertain, doubtful, or obsolete, and that she is privileged, therefore, to take an opportunist position as to the rules of international law. Under such a view, the rights of neutrals are merely temporary concessions by the belligerent. The United States is not willing to abandon the traditional rights of neutrals, as laid down by the British and American courts and writers since the Declaration of Paris of 1856. A reconciliation of these differences is not aided by what has more recently happened.

For now enter the advocates of the League, with their solution of the problem. They maintain that the organization of the world, for which the League has provided, does not admit of neutrals, and that if a nation embarks upon war —notwithstanding the fact that Europe is tied up with treaties which directly contemplate and promise war—all the nations in the League will join in pouncing upon the "aggressor." In so doing, they assert, the League should not be hampered by any alleged regard for the rights of neutrals. Respect for the law is thus supposed to be promoted by its violation in the "higher interests."

This view, in turn, has given rise to the ingenious proposal that in the event of a "private war," that is, a war between two or more nations not sanctioned by the League, the customary rules of international law shall prevail, whereas in the event of a "public war," that is, a League-declared war, neutrals, if any, shall abandon their rights and the League shall have uncontrolled power to act as it will. How a war between Italy and France, or between Great Britain and France, can be characterized as a "private war," what assurance there is that wars will not break out in spite of the League, and what assurance there is that the Council of the League will be unanimous in any major political issue, deponent sayeth not. Nor is it clear that any nation will agree to such a distinction between "private" and "public" war in the application of law to future contingencies.

And now enters the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, that ill-considered instrument of alleged pacification. It is said by such newspapers as the New York *World* that the signature of the pact promises universal peace, and that it is anomalous to discuss rules of international law that shall prevail in time of war. It is deemed inconsistent to prepare legal conditions for an eventuality which has been ruled out. It is said that it injures the pact to discuss the possibility of war. It is maintained by another school of thought, which includes persons who have probably had more experience with propaganda than with practical administration, that it is futile to lay down rules of law, for they will be violated anyway. Unintentionally, this view exhibits a preference for anarchy and hardly contributes to any limitation of armaments.

A third school offers as opinion that by the signature of the peace pact we are now bound to the conclusions and policies of the League of Nations, and can therefore lay claim to no neutral rights that the League is not willing to accord, for instead of cooperating with the League in the "maintenance of peace," we would be hampering the League, and morally, if not legally, violating our own pact.

Then comes Senator Walsh of Montana, vigorous proponent of the peace pact, who adds to the Borah resolution for the calling of a conference on maritime law a demand that the conference shall meet on the basis of immunity of private property at sea. Although the United States has at times advocated such a policy, there never has been immunity for enemy private property at sea, except as limited by the Declaration of Paris and the rules governing contraband and blockade. How any conference at which Great Britain—or even the United States—is a party could have been expected to accept such a principle now, is not apparent. Perhaps the only virtue of the Walsh amendment was that it made certain that no conference would be called, for a conference that failed to reach an agreement, as such a conference was bound

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to, would be a disaster of major importance. The Reed amendment to the cruiser bill, which was finally adopted, requesting the President to negotiate treaties with the principal nations for the protection of the rights of neutrals, is at this time more innocuous than the Borah-Walsh amendment, for it requires no written instructions to delegates, permits of informality of discussion, and if treaties are not concluded the situation would not be made any worse than it is.

Since the failure of the 1927 Geneva Conference, and since the Franco-British Naval Agreement of 1928, the chances of a successful conference on the rules of maritime law in time of war have not improved. League advocates who begin from the premise that only League wars are possible or permissible, and who would thus deny the rights of neutrals, or proponents of the peace pact who regard a discussion of the regulation of the conditions of war as inconsistent with the pact and as constituting a virtual surrender by the United States of its historical rights as a neutral, add only confusion and danger to the problem. The suggestion that the United States abandoned its neutral rights by participating in the late war, in which it is charged with having equally violated the rights of neutrals, has little foundation in fact or in law. By the time the United States joined, neutrals had already, not without aid from an unneutral and naive Department of State, been bluffed out of their rights. The charge of abandonment through participation in the war, and the difficulties created thereby, only adds further proof of the utter folly of the American policy of ever having entered a European war and of having substituted the policy of Wilson for that of Washington. It is ironic that the second of the Wilsonian Fourteen Points on "freedom of the seas" was flatly rejected by Great Britain—after the war had actually been won.

Actual or alleged chaos in the law has only one result—an increase in armed force. Neutral rights are either protected by law or by force. There is nothing now to do about the existing situation except to wait. The solution, if any, lies in Europe. The policies of France and Great Britain since 1918 make peace and tranquillity precarious, not only in Europe but throughout the world. Any improvement in world politics is conditioned upon a major change in the positions of those governments which will substitute for a selfish policy of national aggrandizement at all costs a realization that the safety of their own countries, as well as the peace of the world, depends upon a more cooperative outlook on human affairs.

Broken Homes*

By MARGARET MEAD

STUDENTS of juvenile delinquency and juvenile maladjustment lay great stress upon the factor of "broken homes." In the typical small American family of today—the father and mother and their two or three small children—divorce, like death, breaks up the home, cuts the child's universe in half if it does not shatter it entirely. Although it is true that among Americans of foreign stock and those who are least favorably situated economically, a different form of social organization persists, and families of parents, married children, and grandchildren live together and divide expenses, this is a type of family that is regarded as atypical and un-American. The poor are seeking to escape from it, and it is very rarely that it is encountered among even the reasonably well-to-do. In considering the effect of the divorce of the parents upon the welfare of children, it seems fairest therefore to discuss the effect under the type of family life toward which our society seems to be tending.

In this ideal American home, the tenuous union of two young, untried people is the only basis of security. A belief in marriage for love, the abrogation of parental authority in the supervision or sanctioning of marriages, schools and industries in which young people of radically different social backgrounds have the opportunity to meet and become attached to each other, easy and unsupervised marriages—all of these factors contribute toward making marriage in America a greater gamble than it is in other countries where marriage choices follow more traditional lines. Marriages which cross national and religious lines tend to separate the young couple from both pairs of parents and to isolate them more completely than is the case with arranged marriages where the parents of each are of the same class and creed. The mobility of the American population and the ease and lack of formality in moving from place to place within a standardized civilization all tend to separate parents and their married children, married brothers, and married sisters, from one another. This separation is accelerated by the different economic rewards which are open to immigrant parents and American-born children, and also to the differently educated or differently endowed children of the same parents in a society without fixed class lines.

In the wealthier classes, the convention that grown children should earn their own living and not share in the paternal wealth until the parents' death tends also to differentiate the standard of living of parents and married children with resultant residential separation. Increased economic opportunities for women are eliminating the spinsters who used to swell the family circle. With the decrease in the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture comes a decrease in households in which several adult males engaged in a common economic pursuit live under one roof. Improved domestic architecture, labor-saving devices, and machine production have lightened the housewives' tasks and diminished the need of several women engaged in heavy household tasks in one home. A steadily growing tendency to restrict the birth-rate results in a family too small to have elder children who assume fostering attitudes toward the younger ones.

Forces such as these are producing a typical American home which is in a curiously exposed and insecure position. Two young people contract a union upon the basis of a very special sort of congeniality. Their background, their tastes, their beliefs may differ profoundly. Without the backing of a large, established, well-organized family group which would

* The first of a series of articles on marriage and divorce. The Decline of the Family, by Charles W. Wood, will appear shortly.

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afford them economic and social solidarity, they are expected to make a home for their children, to assume full responsibility for their children's economic, social, and spiritual security. So a child's status in America is primarily a function of its parents' status. Long lines of ancestry, honored citizenship in other countries or far-away states, distinguished forebears in another social tradition count but little. To his father, and more particularly to his father's income, the child owes his place in the universe. Only in terms of his father and mother can he evaluate his own position or gain any assurance of security.

Furthermore, not only are the young parents often separated from the relatives who would supplement them in giving the child a sense of solidarity, but the neighbors among whom they live do not help them. Polyglot communities in which people of half a dozen nationalities and twice as many creeds dwell side by side only present to the growing child a confusing variety of incompatible social standards. Public school, where he meets children with widely different upbringing, only stresses the same point. The breakdown of the churches is removing an agency which cut across residence lines and provided a group of adults with a common view of life to whom the child might look as sharers of his parents' point of view. To many modern children their home, presided over by their two young parents, represents a tiny island of certainty, of fixed standards in a sea of shifting and contradictory social values. And from these circumstances there flows the further consequence that the more unsuitable the match from the standpoint of the possession of a common background, the more isolated the little home which is started. So the children of the marriage which is perhaps least likely to endure are the very ones who are most dependent upon the continuance of the parental union.

It can readily be seen what shattering and disastrous effects can follow divorce or death in situations such as these. The child's standard of values, point of departure, haven of security is broken. The problematical reconstitution of the home through a new marriage of the parent who keeps the child often cannot restore the old sense of security. Children who have learned to rely upon their parents for all things cannot see the bond between their parents broken and the home disbanded without suffering a severe shock, a profound disturbance of their sense of social solidarity.

Conditions in some primitive societies present a strong contrast to these present-day American ones. In the Samoan Islands the natives live in great patriarchal households embracing fifteen to thirty individuals; to all of these the household grants status and security. Women retain a right in their parents' lands and can return home whenever they are dissatisfied with their marriages. Divorces are frequent and involve neither economic instability for mother and children, nor any disorganization of the large households in which the parents resided. Authority is vested in the titled head of the household, an old man who usually belongs to the grandparent generation; tenderness and fostering care are shown by every adult woman to the young and weak of the household. Children do not form strong affectional ties with their parents; instead filial affection is diffused among a large group of relatives. Residence in the same household with one's parents is not obligatory and many children live with uncles and aunts. In such a society divorce does not threaten the serenity of the child. Divorce does not mean a broken home, but only separated parents and the pleasant necessity of visiting. It adds to the number of households in which the child will be especially welcome. As all Samoans love to go a-visiting and even very young children can wander from one relative's household to another, this is simply an additional advantage. A little girl of twelve, both of whose parents are remarried and living in different villages, will weigh solemnly the different advantages of mother's home, father's home, and the home of aunt or uncle in which she resides, balancing more work in one place against less food in another. And a child does not depend upon the relationship between its parents to give it earnest of the value of sex happiness; the private lives of aunts and uncles and cousins are all equally open books to them. I spent months in constant association with the children of three Samoan villages, many of whom were the children of divorced parents. I found no evidence that those children were in any way injuriously affected.

Among the Southwest Indians in the pueblo of Zuni the child is assured security in a society in which divorce is frequent by another social device. Here the maternal household, consisting of a woman, her daughters, and her daughters' children, is the nucleus of the social organization. The women own the houses and a man always retains the right to go home to the house of his mother or sister. In these matrilineal households husbands come and husbands go, but the household has a continuity of its own which no divorce can disturb. And the household places the child in the community.

Where the community is organized into clans as among the Dobuans of Melanesia social stability comes from membership in the mother's clan. All the members of a village belong to the same clan and one is forbidden to marry into one's own village. The young married couple live alternately in the village where everyone is a relative of the wife and the village where all are relatives of the husband. When a divorce occurs the whole village turns against the stranger, who goes home to his or her village. The children live peacefully as members of the maternal household in the mother's village, owing authority to their mother's brothers whose natural tie with their sister's children is subject to no divorce decree.

Perhaps as important as the difference between the organization of the family among these primitive peoples and ourselves is the fact that among primitive peoples the standards of each family and the standards of the entire community are one. In matters of belief, in morals, and in manners, the community reinforces the home and cooperates with the parents in handing down a common tradition to all the members of the next generation. Economically the child is dependent upon a much larger kinship group, emotionally it is dependent upon a whole circle of relatives, morally it derives its sanctions from the entire community.

Obviously American life cannot imitate these customs of other, much more primitive cultures. We shall not shift the burden of family responsibility upon the natural ties binding brother to sister, reconstruct society along maternal lines, nor move the headship of families up into the grandparent generation, which is not subject to marital ups and downs. It does not seem likely that we will reorganize our economic and residential habits so that great aggregations

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of kin will live under one roof and divide the parental responsibility. Still less is it possible to construct homogeneous communities where the background and standards of each family are identical with those of its neighbors. Complexity of civilization with its complexity of choices has come to stay. Yet if one of the great injuries which divorce or death of a parent can do to an American child is to shatter its home, is there any remedy for our children's liability to this particular misfortune?

The recognition that the marriage of two people is a very tenuous basis of security, subject to rupture from death and divorce, should dictate a policy of child training through which the dependence of the child upon this possibly ephemeral home is minimized. A primitive society where large relationship groups shelter all the members, and the whole society is of a piece, can afford its children a prolonged infancy without fear that any accident will render them defenseless. Complex modern society, in which the only security is based upon the union of two young and often ill-assorted people, cannot afford so to prolong the dependence of the younger generation. It must rather acknowledge its inferior facilities for giving complete economic and spiritual aid and comfort to the young and so encourage them to stand as early as possible upon their own feet.

The Anthracite Industry

By BERNARD HELLER

THE anthracite industry has been in the lowest depths for the past three years. The strike of 1926 yielded a Pyrrhic victory to both operators and miners. The public became disgusted with the periodic wranglings of these factions, finding itself during such conflicts not only subjected to inconvenience but victim of an unscrupulous band of coal sharks. Prices were raised; impure coal was sent out as pure coal. Such methods, it is true, were practiced mostly by small independent companies or individual mine owners who found competition with the large companies difficult in normal times. In times of strike, they, together with the local dealers and distributors, felt that they ought to make hay while the sun shone. These practices gave the entire industry, however, a black eye and the exasperated public in reprisal took to oil, coke, and gas as substitutes for coal. As a result the demand for anthracite has not only not kept pace with the growth in population, but its consumption has been declining. In 1920 the production amounted to 68,185,705 tons, while in 1927 it was only 62,942,220 tons.

Aware of a serious crisis in their affairs anthracite owners took to advertising the advantages of anthracite. They sent out salesmen instead of waiting to have customers come to them and beg them for coal. They are shipping coal of the finest and purest quality (so much so that the complaint one hears now is that the coal burns too fast because it is too pure). They have established service stations with fuel experts in every city, who are at the beck and call of every large and small consumer. One can truthfully say that the industry has experienced a change of heart. It is now fully awake to its responsibility to the consuming public. And yet despite this improvement the industry still finds itself in the doldrums. The demand for coal is below what it ought to be. The security owner feels it, the miner feels it, and the merchant perhaps feels it more than either of them. A pall of gloom hangs over the sections of Pennsylvania which are dependent mostly on the mining of coal. The local chambers of commerce and the recently formed Anthracite Cooperative Conference, composed of operators, miners, and public, now and then hold booster meetings intended to bolster up faith in the recuperative power of the industry. To many this artificial enthusiasm merely reveals the anxiety which distresses those who are tied to the industry.

A thorough study of the situation will reveal that the cause of the depression is due not only to the inner evils which once prevailed and now are corrected, but to handicaps which were imposed upon the industry in days gone by and from which it is powerless to extricate itself without the aid of municipalities, counties, State, and even federal agencies. Anthracite is no longer king of fuels. Yet it is still laboring under the burden of discriminations to which it alone is subjected.

The first impediment which must be removed if the anthracite industry is to get back on its feet again is the tonnage tax. The State of Pennsylvania imposed this tax upon the industry in 1921 when anthracite was a non-competitive fuel. From eight to twelve cents for every ton of coal that is mined goes into the coffers of the State Treasury. Its purpose was to help the State Treasury out of financial straits. This tax ought to be repealed not only because anthracite is no more king whose rule is unchallenged, but also because the State Treasury today finds itself in a highly prosperous condition. (Its last report shows a surplus of about twenty-two millions.)

With the exception of one or two companies, anthracite producers have in the last two years not only not shown fair profits on the investment, but they have shown gigantic losses. It is highly unfair to these companies who are already staggering under a heavy burden of municipal and county taxes to be forced to bear this additional burden. The tax, in addition, is highly discriminatory. There is no tonnage tax on bituminous coal or coke, which is practically in the same category as anthracite. There is no tax placed on electricity or gas or oil. Finally, the tax has prejudiced the consumers against the commodity. New Englanders are indignant that they should be forced to support Pennsylvania politics and politicians.

Governor Fisher of Pennsylvania, in some of his utterances, has hinted that he would not be opposed to the repeal of this tax, provided other revenues could be found in its place. He half-heartedly favored it in his message to the State Legislature, yet he included it in the budget which he afterward submitted to that body.

What are the factors that militate against the repeal of this tax? First and foremost is the grandiose program of the Governor, which calls for expenditures during the next

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two years so vast that they will consume the twenty-two million dollars surplus, and in addition call for extra taxes on gasoline and drivers' fees. That some of the projects represent unnecessary luxuries may be seen from his proposal to spend eleven million dollars for capital park improvements, an amount which nearly equals the revenue of the tonnage tax for the years 1929 and 1930.

The repeal of the tonnage tax alone, however, would not solve the problem of anthracite. A reduction of eight or ten cents per ton to the public or its saving to the producing companies, represents a small item. The repeal of the tax is chiefly important as an indication of the favorable attitude of the State to the recovery of the industry. The item which is more likely to solve the difficulties of anthracite is a more equitable adjustment of freight rates for that commodity.

An examination of the causes of the freight differential of anthracite will disclose the injustice to which the industry is subjected. Prohibitively high rates to the West were imposed on anthracite as a war measure. Anthracite then was scarce. The munition plants and the factories of the East clamored for it. The households of New England and the Middle Atlantic States were then entirely dependent on this fuel. The government in its desire to apportion justly the necessary commodities boosted up the freight rate on anthracite to the Middle West. This rate, which was originally a war measure only, remained the same after the war ended. The high freight rates to New England and Middle Atlantic States were instituted at a time when the railroads owned the mines. They looked upon the mines only as feeders for freight for the parent organization. The Interstate Commerce Commission approved the rate schedule because anthracite was then a non-competitive commodity and a charge of "all that the traffic could bear" was legitimate.

The third item in the relief of anthracite is the evolution of a more equitable as well as a scientific scheme of local taxation for coal. At present the municipalities and counties levy the tax upon all the company's coal properties, irrespective whether this coal is minable in 1929, 1939, or 1999. The tax appraisers compute the quantity of virgin coal which each company possesses and every square foot is supposed to have an agreed market value. On the basis of these facts or suppositions the tax is determined. It is evident that this method of taxation places a tremendous burden on the present-day consumer and relieves the consumer of tomorrow of what is less than his legitimate share. The life of the mines of large producing companies is supposed to last over centuries. Every year the value of this coal property depreciates by the number of tons that were mined the previous year. The taxes for the following year are less by that amount. The cost of producing coal becomes therefore so much less. The difference, it is true, is not visible in one or two years, but over a long period of time it will be appreciable upon every ton. As a result of the increasing lowered cost of production, due to the continuously diminishing tax rate, the future consumer will be able to obtain his coal for very much less. In all justice, the future consumer should pay as much if not more than the present consumer, depending on diminution of and demand for the commodity.

The anthracite industry is a critically sick industry. If the repeal of the tonnage tax be postponed to the future biennial session of the legislature, if an equitable adjustment of freight rates for anthracite does not come shortly, if the myopic greed which makes the municipal and county politicians insist on their present unscientific methods of local taxation be persisted in, then the decline and even doom of the industry may be safely predicted. The immediate application of the above remedies, however, is bound to bring back the industry and the sections which depend on it to a far better state of health.

In the Driftway

AMERICAN architecture—is there such a thing? The Drifter thinks not, in spite of the pages he has read which assume the contrary. Architecture, when truly national, grows out of the life and needs of a people. It depends upon climate, available building materials, economic status, and national habits. It varies from the palm-thatched hut of the South Seas to the igloo of the Esquimaux; from the Moorish palace, with its interior gardens and much-used roof, to the almost impenetrable castle on the Rhine. American architecture, in its essentials, was imported from North and Central Europe—just as were the first bricks that went into it—because our early settlers were mostly from that part of the world. It is not born of, nor adapted to, the needs of the United States. In the early days necessity led to some native touches, as in the log cabin and the sod house. Later, industrial progress brought modifications—the skyscraper office-building is an example—but fundamentally our architecture is foreign born and has never been adequately naturalized.

* * * * *

THERE are two striking ways in which our imported architecture is unsuited to the United States—in its windows and in its roofs. American summers, unlike those of North and Central Europe, are long and hot; we need more windows reaching down to the floor and opening completely, as in the Mediterranean countries. We need more transoms and better methods generally of getting currents of air through our houses. Incidentally the Drifter expects that refrigerating systems for cooling houses will be in almost as general use twenty years from now as are heating plants today. And our roofs are thrown away. Even where they are flat, they are rarely utilized. In our cities, especially, roofs ought to be as widely used in America as in the Orient. New York City landlords have lately taken to building what they call pent-houses on the roofs—apartments with windows and terraces on all sides for which they demand unusual rents. These are fine for the landlords and the lucky tenants able to pay high rents, but they deprive the other persons in the house of space and opportunities that ought to be open to all.

* * * * *

IT is usual, the Drifter imagines, for emigrants to new lands to take their architecture with them, and changes looking to greater adaptability in the new country come slowly. The Drifter once ran across a curious example of this in the Virgin Islands. When visiting a church he noticed that the roof was reinforced with an intricate and apparently unnecessary system of supporting timbers. He

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asked the reason, and a resident of the islands guessed that it was to prevent destruction in case of hurricanes. This, the Drifter knew, could not be so, since hurricanes in the Caribbean come from only one direction and call for a special bracing of the house on that side rather than a general strengthening of the supports of the roof. Finally, the reason dawned on the Drifter. The church had been put up during the Danish occupation of the islands, and the Danes had built in the tropics a roof like those in their own country —calculated to sustain the weight of several feet of snow!

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Eastman vs. Williams—Last Round

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a previous letter I stated that Albert Rhys Williams "is and has been for a long time a paid correspondent of the Stalin press." He replies that he has sold them in all only six articles, and that these are the same articles he has sold elsewhere. That is additional information, but it is not a refutation of my statement. Williams himself showed me last spring his signed credentials as an official correspondent of *Izvestia* in the United States, and told me that they had paid him well for his articles *while in Russia,* and promised the same payment for anything he sent from here. He did this in response to my question whether and how he had earned money in Russia. That is the basis for my statement.

Williams accuses me of "assaulting the Soviet Union." I am actively engaged in defending the Soviet Union in public lectures all over the country. He accuses me of "the sale of anti-soviet material to the New York *Times*." The material I published in the New York *Times* was Lenin's "Testament." The fact that I did not appropriate the money paid for it was stated in *The Nation* itself (December 15, 1926).

Williams does not renew his assertion that Trotzky's documents have not been suppressed, nor his pretense that Trotzky was expelled and exiled by due process of party democracy. That is of course the important thing in our discussion, and I interpret his turning to other questions as an admission that he was wrong. Of all his grand assault upon Trotzky's book, he revives only a minor criticism of what the publishers say on the outside cover. They imply that not only Trotzky's documents (and Lenin's), but also the letter of Adolph Joffe, have been suppressed. It is true, they do, although I had not noticed it before. The correction should read as follows: Joffe's letter *was* suppressed and a duplicate copy came out of Russia underground, but after it had been published abroad, such a commotion was raised that Stalin was compelled to publish it in Russia with an abusive reply.

Seeing his great roar against Trotzky's book reduced to this small squeak, Williams calls the editors of *The Nation* to his rescue with the recollection that *they* deleted from his original text an admission that "the September thesis" of the Opposition had been suppressed. Instead of rescuing him, this damns him utterly. No such thing as the "September thesis" exists or ever did exist. Before every congress of Lenin's party every opposition group has a right guaranteed by the constitution to draw up a projected "platform," to have it printed in the party press, and discussed by the party for three months before the delegates assemble. Stalin called a congress for December, and the Opposition prepared their "platform" in September. Their platform was suppressed by Stalin in violation not only of inner-party democracy but of the constitution of Lenin's party. Workers who insisted upon printing it secretly were arrested and jailed. Trotzky, when he defended these workers, was expelled from the Central Committee. When he further attempted to propagate his opinions he was expelled from the party. Still further persisting, he was arrested and exiled. Persisting again, he was banished from the country. No person wishing honestly to describe the real situation in Russia—and having any knowledge whatever of the facts—could by any stretch of his imagination think up for this central and definitive document, the Platform of the Opposition about which the whole battle has raged, such a ludicrous name as "the September thesis."

New York, February 14 MAX EASTMAN

[The Editor of *The Nation* must now consider this controversy closed.]

Submission

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The accompanying attempt at verse seems to me to demonstrate the typical attitude of certain Kansas farmers for whom I have worked toward any "act of God."

God's fields were ripening, one by one.
God's sunshine's work was just begun.
God's hail came down and—just for fun—
Destroyed God's fields.
God's will be done!

Boulder, Colo, January 10 CHARLES CROMWELL

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Books, Music, Plays

The Muffled Oar

By THEODORE DREISER

Upon a fogged and silent sea
A muffled oar—
Ineffectual
Weak.
Dip! Dip!
So close
And yet invisible.
You—
I.
And so soon gone again.
But from whence?
And to where?
You?
I?
And seeking what
In the great fog?
The great silence?
You—
I.
Dip! Dip!
To where?
From whence?
Why?

Once at Tarascon

By MELVILLE CANE

Once, at Tarascon,
I saw a flock of sheep
Filling an ancient lane.
Sunset dyed their fleece with mauve.
Startled,
They bunched and huddled,
And panic ran along their backs
Like quicksilver.

Sea Tramp

By STERLING NORTH

Blue-nosed and weather-beaten, bellicose,
Too old to sail cantankerous schooners, he
Exploits adventure. Once off Barbados
A spout to windward, breakers on the lee . . .
(Where is the ship that sails, the wind that blows
Like wind and ship when he put out to sea?)
He glares about for hint of raillery
And sounds a fog-horn note upon his nose.

But awkward plow-boys, hearing him, are grave
And lean upon his words. They, too, would go
Where sullen waves burst turbulent and slow
And silver fishes leap from every wave.
For in their minds this frowzy sea tramp seems
Almost the man he has been in his dreams.

Portrait of America

The American Experiment. By Bernard Faÿ, in collaboration with Avery Claflin. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

M. FAŸ, an accomplished French scholar who has already written an interesting study of "The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America," has now thought it worth while to draw upon his experiences and observations as an exchange lecturer at Harvard and other universities and to tell what America is like. Whether Mr. Claflin's collaboration, begun "on the battlefields of Verdun," has extended to the subject-matter of the book, or to the translation, or to both is not clear, but M. Faÿ, either with or without Mr. Claflin's help, has evidently read American history to good purpose, and the English of the book has been exceptionally well done.

Some day, perhaps, a would-be doctor of philosophy in search of a thesis-subject will delve into the mass of European appraisals of America with a view to discovering what reactions, if any, such judgments have had upon the American mind. For a French public, notoriously indisposed to attend very seriously to any national history except its own, the admirable summary which M. Faÿ gives of our political development ought to be informing, and his survey of our social habits and idiosyncrasies will please and instruct almost any foreigner who finds American ways hard to understand or difficult to tolerate. It would be hard to show, however, at least off-hand, that European opinion, whether French, British, or any other, of what America is or how it came to be this way has ever had much influence on this side of the Atlantic save to add to our national self-satisfaction; and since we have already quite enough of that quality, the necessity of putting into English what has been said about us in other tongues does not seem exactly imperative.

Most of M. Faÿ's readers, accordingly, will be interested mainly in discovering how a French intellectual with a bent for history and sociology represents America to his countrymen. On the whole the portrait is well drawn. The first four chapters are a judicious mingling of historical narration and interpretation. M. Faÿ sees the formal virtues of the Constitution and some of its defects, and is no more impressed than most Americans are with the performances of our political parties or the significance of their platforms. It must have amused him to deploy the parade of the Presidents about a decimal point, and to find that 18.18 per cent of the Chief Magistrates, not counting the Virginia and Massachusetts dynasties, have been exceptionally gifted, 13.64 per cent "capable above average," 59.09 per cent average, and 9.09 per cent inferior; but we ourselves no longer take our Presidents too seriously, and the estimate of 59.09 per cent of average "intellect, force, comprehension, persuasiveness, adaptability, urbanity, etc.," when it is remembered that the class includes such towering characters as Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Grant, Garfield, and Harding, seems generous.

It would be hard for any intelligent foreigner who, like M. Faÿ, had lectured from coast to coast, read newspapers and magazines, attended plays and concerts, admired skyscrapers, and observed elaborate petting parties on the shore of Lake Michigan, to write about it all without making some shrewd comments and offering the nation some advice. M. Faÿ does both. We are bent upon achieving national unity, we do things on a grand scale, and we revel in facts. We do not worship money, but we have "a passion to count and to calculate size exactly by means of figures." Our monumental press records everything, when it does not choose to suppress, but it is weak

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in ideas; Protestantism is declining, there is little hope for the Negro, and the wooing of Latin America has not been very successful. A small school of radical writers is making some impression, but "the United States as a people has no adequate perception of its own distinctive literary tradition," and neither orthodox nor radical writers have ever taken "the detached and abstract position which characterizes the great European writers," apparently because each class feels too directly the influence of the mass and writes what the public wants. "A hateful fear of the United States" is spreading in Europe "and may eventually submerge all other feelings," but the United States counts upon the payment of the war debts and lets other future maturities take care of themselves. The best thing that Europe can do is to take a leaf from the book of American federalism, and evolve some method of pulling together as the American States have done. The United States "will have served some purpose" if it shall "provide the final glory of Europe after having restored her to her youth." And so on, similar, accordin'. It evidently behooves America to take its "experiment" very seriously. WILLIAM MACDONALD

Experiments in Futurism

transition stories. Twenty-three stories from *transition,* selected and edited by Eugene Jolas and Robert Sage. Walter McKee. $2.50.

BECAUSE it enables the reader to secure a bird's-eye view of the activities of the radical literary group in Paris, this is a highly valuable collection. The volume is about equally divided between stories by Americans and those by Europeans. As much of the work is entirely experimental, almost in a laboratory sense, it is both useless and unintelligent to apply to it the current formulae of aesthetic appreciation. The experiment produces the law; the law does not produce the experiment. When a sufficient number of individual but related phenomena has occurred, a generalization will probably arise and function as a criterion whereby succeeding phenomena will be judged. It is because an outside critical world ignores this simple chronological fact that the *transition* writers and those in sympathy with them have met with contempt and misunderstanding.

Such an attitude is in part ascribable to that facile snobbery peculiar to democratic communities; but even more clearly is it due to the influence which nineteenth-century fiction continues to exert over the mentality of the reading public. The propaganda-naturalist novel and the religious aesthetic of Tolstoy combined to influence the reader so as to make him demand from his fiction, above all other qualities, that of immediate comprehensibility. Nothing is to be presented to the reader to which his best mental powers are not absolutely equal. The theory is adequate, of course, only in so far as the appreciation of literature is conceived to be an exercise of the rational mind. But the advent of Freud and his dream-theory, the enormous emotional impact of the war, the escapist psychology which dominates the romantic temper of our day—all have conspired to bring into prominence a number of psychic mid-states, traumatisms, emotional boundary-lands which are legitimately open to literary manipulation. But if the reader is to get anything from work produced with reference to these states, he must abandon his attitude of mere intelligent attentiveness. The communication of ideas and the projection of "recognizable" characters are only two of the functions of literature: as the work of Joyce has demonstrated, language (consciously distorted language, of course) is capable of stimulating a number of indescribable emotions, dream-states, and visions which the more orthodox literary technique cannot manage to arouse. The reader's appreciation may be confused and impossible of verbal expression; but there is no doubt that his consciousness is enriched, that he undergoes a new experience.

The work of the *transition* writers cannot be approached belligerently, with a "What does this mean?" interrogation. A more reasonable query would be: "What do I get out of it?" From Mr. Godwin's A Day in the Life of a Robot, for example, I get a memorable sensation of an utterly dreary and mechanical tempo, which could be secured from only one other art—music. But, in order to trap this sensation, I must abandon the conventional attitude of critical attention. The delicate, ironic beauty of Mr. Josephson's Lionel and Camilla is best sensed by allowing the mind to relax into a slightly dreamy torpor, in which the rational faculties are not numbed, but merely retreat into secondary position. To the prose of Gertrude Stein I still react with nothing but blank bewilderment; but I am not at all certain that a continuous reading of her work might not arouse in me a certain satisfaction which other readers claim to have derived from this author. It is clear that for the appreciation of much ultra-modern work mere attentiveness is not enough: the reader must be willing to cooperate, to insinuate himself into a strange mood, often to abandon himself, as it were, to a but vaguely apprehended magical power.

The writers included in these pages do not present their productions as works of literature; they claim for them no inevitable inclusion in the canon of art. They merely require the reader to lend his emotional equipment to the appreciation of a series of experiments, tentative gropings, new combinations, deformations, delvings into the recesses of painful, fugitive moods. El Greco required the same; Debussy the same; abstract cinema the same. From these attempts nothing may result—that is more than probable—but, on the other hand, it is not entirely safe to assume that within a hundred years our apparatus for the reception of literary art may not have been materially modified and enriched by the sincere efforts of the Paris group. CLIFTON P. FADIMAN

America and the World

Survey of American Foreign Relations, 1928. Charles P. Howland. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by the Yale University Press. $5.

AMERICANS and Europeans who wish to comprehend the position of the United States in our highly integrated modern world will find this book indispensable. Certainly in no other single volume is there available so much pertinent and authoritative material concerning contemporary American foreign relations. Fortunately the Council on Foreign Relations is to issue annually hereafter a similar survey: "the subjects chosen each year," according to the preface, "will be those in which a culmination of some sort has thrown the questions involved into high relief, or those which have come to a stage of temporary arrest and so allow of deliberate examination." Each volume will bear the date of its publication—a procedure which is likely to cause some confusion to the unwary but which is as satisfactory as any other which comes to mind. The specific topics discussed in this first of the series are: underlying factors, traditions, and domestic control of American foreign policy; the United States as an economic power; the United States and the League of Nations; financial relations of the United States Government after the World War; the limitation of armament. Mr. Howland and his collaborators—principally Arthur Bullard, H. B. Elliston, and Quincy Wright—have presented a vast amount of material in a style which is clear, straightforward, and a model of com-

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pactness. The book is marked by a wealth of historical and literary allusion which denotes wisdom and maturity rather than a display of erudition. There is a refreshing vividness and vigor which show that this is no mere compilation, but a book welded into a unit by the untiring mind and hand of its editor. The documentation is adequate (although there is no bibliography). There may be some differences of opinion concerning perspective and proportion; it seems to the reviewer, for example, that the otherwise excellent section on reparations is rather longer than is wise or necessary. If the Council on Foreign Relations could arrange it, an annual supplementary volume of source materials would be of inestimable value to those students of international affairs who will find each survey a constant source of reference.

This book is so uniformly excellent that it is difficult to single out sections for special commendation. Chapters I and II, dealing with motivating forces and traditions of American foreign policy, are perhaps the best written, and the discussion of such policies as isolation, freedom of the seas, and the open door is marked by unusual realism. The chapter on domestic control of foreign relations is all-inclusive and somewhat academic; it includes food for serious thought on the increasing professionalization and somewhat amazing ramifications of the foreign service of the United States in all its branches. The discussion of State Department supervision of foreign loans is a valuable record of the recent course of events, but in its critical aspects will hardly satisfy those who fear that the policy inaugurated during the Harding-Hughes regime will tend to start the United States on the broad highway of imperialism. No economist could have written better sections on the commercial and financial expansion of the United States, the problems of inter-Allied debts and German reparations, and the direct settlement under the Treaty of Berlin of German-American claims. No historian could have written a more vivid and objective account of the Wilsonian peace program, the elections of 1918 and 1920 in their international aspects, the rejection by the United States of the Treaty of Versailles, and the relations between Washington and Geneva—an account, incidentally, which reflects no great credit on the American people and some of their chief spokesmen like Senator Borah and the late Senator Lodge. One of the most suggestive discussions is that on the international implications of gold distribution.

By far the most valuable portion of the volume—judged with reference to its possibility of affecting matters of immediate practical importance—is the long and valuable section on disarmament, written by Arthur Bullard. It is no exaggeration to say that nothing thus far written on the limitation of fighting forces approaches in importance this discussion by Mr. Bullard. The reader will get a clear picture of the entire pre-war and post-war situation, along with an excellent historical account of developments since the forcible disarmament of Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. It is when he comes to the apparent *impasse* between Great Britain and the United States on cruiser construction that Mr. Bullard is at his best. He believes that there is no way out of this Anglo-American difficulty while the mirage of "parity" is pursued by strategists or while the present law and practice of the sea prevail. He makes a moving and reasoned plea for mutual understanding of the problems of naval defense of each of the two Powers; such an understanding would prevent the respective admiralties from throwing dust in the eyes of Parliament and Congress and might lead to a conception of complementary rather than competitive naval strength. He believes that a revision of the law of the sea is both expedient and imperative because the development of the submarine and airplane has rendered obsolete most of our prevailing principles; because new methods of economic pressure, such as black-lists and enemy-trading acts,

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have made the blockade relatively less important than heretofore; because the political trend of modern times is in the direction of regional decentralization of sea power; because the obligations assumed by Great Britain under the Locarno Pacts and the Covenant of the League have vastly increased her maritime responsibilities; and because most of the theoretical rights of neutrals were wiped out during the Great War. What the United States has always wanted is "freedom of the seas"—that is, as much freedom of neutral trade in war time as can be obtained; what Great Britain primarily wishes as an insular country is economic and military security. Both can be obtained, in Mr. Bullard's opinion, only by mutual concessions on the practical application of sea power in time of war. Mr. Bullard's concrete proposal is (1) that the United States and Great Britain agree not to interfere with neutral non-contraband commerce in case of a "private war" (a war which does not call into play the sanctions provided by the League Covenant or the treaties of Locarno); (2) that the two Powers will not insist on the traditional rights of neutral trade in case of a "public war" (a war in which one Power is established as the aggressor under existing international agreements). In a well-reasoned statement Mr. Bullard shows that his proposal would win the support of all except professional navalists in both countries.

If this book had done nothing more than present Mr. Bullard's statement and proposals on naval limitation, it would have been justified. The Council of Foreign Relations has thus added to its record for the enlightenment of American public opinion and for contributions to the settlement of intricate international problems.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE

On the Sport of Gentlemen

The Memoirs of a Fox-hunting Man. By Siegfried Sassoon. Coward-McCann. $2.50.

FROM Siegfried Sassoon one naturally anticipates a certain amount of bitterness. It is impossible to imagine him treating the life of the country gentleman before the war in any fashion other than satiric, and if one approaches his "Memoirs of a Fox-hunting Man" with this natural prejudgment of its intention one is certain to read certain things between the lines. But the satire, or rather criticism, which is undoubtedly intended is wholly latent and the book might be read in all innocence by any young man brought up in the traditions of its hero. The title quite literally describes the contents and if the motto "This happy breed of men, this little world," may be taken as mildly ironic its mildness is no more conspicuous than that of the Memoirs themselves.

The hero, an attractive young man of small income, writes ostensibly for others whose tastes are identical with his. He tells how he was taught to ride by his aunt's sympathetic groom and how this same enterprising personage soon saw to it that he had a horse of his own. He recounts at some length his introduction to the hunt, gives full particulars concerning the trepidation with which he first entered the sacred precincts of Kipward and Son's for the purpose of ordering a proper outfit for the field, and, as he becomes more and more expert in the activity to which he has devoted his life, enters meticulously into all those details concerning the qualities of this or that horse and the behavior of this or that fox which, even in retrospect, are so fascinating to the sportsman. But he is, within his limitations, a modest and attractive young man. Moreover, he writes with a simple, vivid grace, which invests his subject with no little of the charm which it had for him and hence, though no one could have fewer sporting instincts than I, even I found myself keenly interested in his career. This is a happy

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breed of men, and this little world is not without a charm of its own.

Obviously Mr. Sassoon wishes us to be aware of his young hero's lack of ultimate importance. He is unambitious and he has no sense of the responsibility imposed by his privileges. He neither contributes anything useful to the social community nor employs his leisure for the development of any faculties higher than those employed by a groom. Leading a life at once charmed and trivial he magnifies the importance of a traditional sport in order to escape from the necessity of thinking, and in a sense he is responsible for the war to which he ultimately goes in an amiably incompetent way. But it is difficult to be very angry with him. Though he contributes nothing to either the welfare of his people or the advancement of knowledge he is less harmful and more amiable than most people who have nothing to do and unlimited time to do it in.

As a contribution to sporting literature "The Memoirs of a Fox-hunting Man" is successful, even brilliant. As a satire—and I persist in regarding it as satire in intention—it is far less so. If one bears Squire Western in mind one cannot but conclude that the race of hunters has much improved since his day, and if one does not have utopian ideas concerning the sense of responsibility likely to be developed in those who are born with an adequate income one is bound to confess that those young men who have leisure without any particular capacity could do worse than spend their time in the open air. The present book seems to me too much like Walton's "Complete Angler" to do more than awaken a pleasant interest in an absurdly elaborate sport. I rose from reading it with a greatly increased knowledge of the mysterious rituals with which it is concerned but I cannot say that I felt any more bitter toward the idle aristocracy than I did before. Perhaps it will achieve a popularity in Westchester County where the works of Mary Borden are much read and the fox, so I am told, sometimes hunted with great seriousness.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

More of Walther Rathenau

Walther Rathenau, Nachgelassene Schriften. Berlin: S. Fischer. Two volumes.

Ausgewählte Reden von Walther Rathenau. Edited by James Taft Hatfield. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.

THESE posthumous papers by Rathenau, either reprinted from various magazines between 1898 and 1921 or now published for the first time, are a welcome supplement to his collected works. They again strikingly show the amazing fecundity of his mind, the wide sweep of his imagination, the bold power of his will. They again bring out the extraordinary complexity of his nature, the combination in him of passionate interest in questions of industrial organization and matters of the soul, of economics and metaphysics, of religion and art, of fatherland and humanity. Few Germans of our time have come so near the type of the great Renaissance statesmen, thinkers, and artists as he.

Of particular interest are the articles and diary entries from the last years of the war and its aftermath, contained in these volumes. In May, 1919, when under the staggering conditions of the Versailles dictates the National Assembly at Weimar was swayed to and fro between rejecting or accepting the unbearable terms, Rathenau in *Die Zukunft* came out with the startling proposition to reject, but to couple the rejection with the announcement to the enemy governments that the National Assembly had dissolved itself, that the President of the Republic and the whole Cabinet had resigned, and that all the rights and duties of sovereignty and the whole government of the German Empire were now in the hands of the

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Allies. "The responsibility," he wrote, "for the establishment of peace, for the administration of Germany, and for all her payments and obligations thereby passes over to our enemies; and they will be forced to assume before the tribunal of humanity and of history the task of guarding the lives of sixty million people. A case without parallel; an unheard-of plunge into the depths. But truth and our good conscience will have been saved." Whatever one may think of the practical consequences which this proposition, if adopted, would have had, Rathenau's unbending idealism has perhaps never shone forth more brilliantly than here. It was in this spirit that he faced his own death.

Nearly simultaneously with these posthumous papers there has appeared a little book which should help to spread the study of Rathenau's works in American colleges: Professor Hatfield's edition of six of his speeches delivered between 1917 and 1922. They deal with the vital questions both of Rathenau's own mental and spiritual development and those of the economic and political conditions in Germany during those momentous years. The conflict between mass production and individual work, between the necessity of mechanization and the demands of the soul, between industrial centralization and social democracy, between national exigencies and international ideals, in short, the fundamental problems of all modern society are here discussed with a clarity, vigor, and deep personal fervor, unexcelled by any other writer of our time. Together with Professor Hatfield's instructive and spirited sketch of Rathenau's character and career, these speeches should go a long way in enlightening American academic youth about the real issues of the tremendous upheaval through which Europe has passed during the last fifteen years.

KUNO FRANCKE

Books in Brief

An Outline of Universal History. By George E. Sokolsky. With an Introduction by Hu Shih. Shanghai: The Commercial Press. $2.50.

"Histories of the world," despite Mr. Wells's efforts, are still essentially histories of the Mediterranean world and its colonies, and their treatment of the world's greatest continent is shockingly ignorant. A really satisfactory universal history, as Hu Shih says, will be impossible until the vast stores of Oriental historical material have been combed by modern historians; meanwhile Mr. Sokolsky, an American Jew of Russian origin, who has spent a decade in the Orient, has rewritten history with the Asiatic shore of the Pacific as his vantage point. He will probably have successors who will be even more Asiatic in their indifference to "Europe's minor problems"; but his book will certainly serve Chinese students better than any "universal" history written in the West, and will be suggestive to any Occidental. The final chapter, on the Chinese Republic to 1922, is particularly fresh and authoritative.

Far Eastern International Relations. By Hosea Ballou Morse and Harley Farnsworth MacNair. Shanghai: The Commercial Press. $4.

Morse's "International Relations of the Chinese Empire" is the standard authority; but it has long been out of print, it carries its story only to 1911, and it is in three fat volumes. Mr. MacNair has condensed Morse's account and enlarged its field. In one volume of 1,100 pages he covers Japan, Korea, and the Philippines as well as China, and carries events to June, 1928. The result would be worth republication in America; both Morse's and MacNair's pages have a sureness of touch lacking in some recent American textbooks.

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BRUMMAGEM is a distorted form of Birmingham, the English town where so much of the world's cheap jewelry and make-believe baubles come from. Brummagem means spurious, counterfeit, fake, sham—in short it is an adjective that perfectly describes those qualities against which THE DEBUNKER (a monthly edited by E. Haldeman-Julius of Little Blue Book fame) militates. THE DEBUNKER has set itself the task of pricking the inflated bubbles of superstition and hypocrisy. It asks and grants no favors. The needle in its binnacle does not quiver; it points steadfastly to truth. Take, for instance, the March issue which is just off the press. It contains, among others, these four contributions of exceptional interest:

CROOKED FINANCIAL SCHEMES EXPOSED by GEORGE M. HUSSER, Director of the Kansas City (Mo.) Better Business Bureau. This is the first part of a series showing in authentic manner how the great business of swindling has developed with the times. This article alone is worth more than the entire subscription price to THE DEBUNKER.

PRESIDENT HOOVER AND QUAKERISM by L. M. BIRKHEAD, pastor of All Souls' Unitarian Church at Kansas City, and a well-known anti-Fundamentalist crusader. Here he digs into the story of the "Friends," and concludes what we may expect from the next administration so far as religion is concerned.

FRANK HARRIS AT SEVENTY-TWO by GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERICK, poet, writer and interviewer extraordinary. THE DEBUNKER is not afraid to print this latest sketch of the stormy petrel of literature which was refused by many better known magazines. It shows a softer, mellower Frank Harris, than was the one who deliberately jeopardized the friendship of his few intimates and the respect of the world at large by publishing his autobiography.

THE NEW FIGHT FOR MOONEY AND BILLINGS by ROGER N. BALDWIN, director of the American Civil Liberties Union. A detailed exposition of the case for these two innocent martyrs whom the Commonwealth of California has robbed of twelve years of their lives.

OTHER FEATURES

APRIL NUMBER: How Thomas Jefferson is Revered in Virginia; Keepers of the Faith; The Latest Bunk in Piano Teaching; Debating Companionate Marriage in Chautauqua; Boy, page Mr. Barnum; Catholicism in the Small Town; Does Life Spell Accident or Design? The Y. M. C. A. From the Inside; Spurts From an Interrupted Pen; Facts About Tooth Decay and Ruthless Extraction.

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Music

"Jonny" and "Manon"

"IT has taken 'Jonny' two years to reach the Metropolitan, but now we shall have it with a vengeance." This casual remark overheard in the lobby during the dress rehearsal of the opera seemed more than pertinent to the writer. Indeed the Metropolitan has produced "Jonny" with such convincing "vengeance" and Mr. Bohnen has given him such a hand that Krenekism may well cause a furor in our local theater even as it has all but infested Europe with its popularity. For in this parody of the day, we have a combination of sardonic satire and stark realism that is well-nigh irresistible. In Paris, we are told, the production was not a success; and this may be accounted for by the fact that the play, even in its German setting, contains in essence much of the Gallic *chic* which the French like to regard as their own peculiar possession. Despite this vein of caustic diablerie, the libretto, written by Krenek himself, is wholly Germanic in flavor—and the German version of what is, after all, but a good replica of a thoroughly impudent American Negro, seems more plausibly grotesque in foreign setting.

More or less *art moderne,* also in the German-Bohemian style, is the treatment of the music itself. The composer lays out his orchestral tissue in flat bands, as it were, and when the action demands excitement, throws about thick chunks of sound with furious relish and, we suspect, many an inward chuckle. In his use of jazz, Krenek is especially nimble, employing it distinctly as a flavoring and seasoning element in his orchestral *pot-au-feu* rather than as the basis of his score. Moreover, it is a light-footed and thoroughly enticing variety of jazz, at least until the final scene, when it takes on an aspect of the demoniacal and becomes a veritable delirium of the dance. This ultra-modern Bohemian is, by all appearances, not lacking in resource; if he is fond of jazz, he likewise does not distrust the processes of the atonalists. And from the modern point of view, what could be more entirely apropos? Johnny, the pivotal figure of the play, is a highly unmoral personification of many latter-day ideas and impulses. Live vociferously, be sure of yourself, and obey the voice of the moment, seem to be the rules of the game, according to Krenek's satire. Could anything be more in keeping with such a gesture than the principles of atonality?

And what of the action? There is a breathlessness in this extravaganza, an almost kaleidoscopic tumbling from one situation into another, that leaves one fairly gasping. Prima donnas are wooed, glaciers give advice, fatuous composers are deserted and rewon, precious violins are stolen, and virtuosos are killed, as policemen, hotel managers, and impresarios race wildly about and high-powered automobiles go flashing through the scene. The tempo of everything is fast and furious. Meanwhile even the snows of the Alps refuse sanctuary and send their bewildered pilgrim back into the sweat and fever of modernity. In the booming finals when further gyration would be bathos, Johnny seizes the stolen violin, mounts to the top of the station clock, which in turn becomes the top of the world, and fiddles away his very soul into jazz as the planets reel and the dance-maddened world falls into the Charleston.

What does it all mean, Mr. Krenek? Is the fierce urge and tidelessness of our time leading us into chaotic frenzy? Or is this play of yours but a symbol of passing currents?

Significant in a season of markedly German-Italian complexion is the recent revival of Massenet's "Manon." This opera, perennially fresh and charming in its wholly spontaneous lyric appeal and its evocation of eighteenth-century grace, requires in its presentation the utmost finesse of ensemble, as well as a strain of that peculiarly Gallic *joie de vivre* not easily translated beyond the shores of France.

To say that the Metropolitan production was wholly successful in this latter aspect would be an exaggeration, but it may safely be said that this was on the whole the most noteworthy presentation of a French work in recent years. In finish and authority as well as in lyric excellence the performance left little to be desired. Miss Bori possesses to a rare degree the art of which Mme Emma Calve was perhaps the most notable exponent, namely, the faculty of altering the emotional coloring of her voice to suit every passing nuance of dramatic mood. As Manon she presented an ingenuous picture of youthful archness and charm not easily to be forgotten, and in striking contrast to the usually more or less artificial conception of this role. Mr. Gigli, as the Chevalier de Grieux, was vocally at his best, even though at a decided disadvantage, as were many of the company, in the manipulation of French vocalization and diction. In a performance of many excellences, there was one serious flaw in the omission of the cours-la-Reine act, the most completely Gallic episode of the opera, and delightfully reminiscent of eighteenth-century Paris.

The production of "Manon," by its intrinsic merits as well as by its evident appeal, leads one to question: Why not include more frequent examples of the French school in our Metropolitan repertoire? Must we vainly regret the good old days of Oscar Hammerstein, not to mention the presentation of opéra-comique at the New Theater short season, when many of the all-but-forgotten lighter operas were revived? Must we continue the production of merely four or five French operas as against perhaps four or five times that number of the Italian school?

LAWRENCE ADLER

Drama

The Virgin and the Dynamo

NO other temperament so completely subjective as that of Eugene O'Neill has ever been attracted to the contemporary theater, and no one else in America (with the possible exception of John Howard Lawson) has ever written plays which are so frankly the expression of an individual quest for the meaning of existence. Those persons who still expect to find in them some mirror held up to external nature will be more baffled than ever by the new play which the Guild has produced at the Martin Beck, but those who are capable of understanding O'Neill's intentions will find it, like all his recent plays, the expression of a profoundly brooding and passionately thirsty soul. No other living writer can manage as he can to invest the ideas and fancies of the modern mind with their full emotional significance, and in comparison with this fact nothing else—neither his other virtues nor his defects—is of more than very minor importance.

"Dynamo" tells the odd story of a minister's son who loses the faith of his fathers and who goes finally to a power-house to prostrate himself before an electric generator and to demand from it the meaning of its power. Readers of "The Education of Henry Adams" will recall the chapter on the Virgin and the Dynamo and will recognize that the idea there expressed and the idea of the play are the same, but with the fundamental conception the resemblance stops. Adams, with his bleak and emotionally inhibited soul, stood outside to wonder coldly. He saw that if the twentieth century could be said to have a symbol of the power in which it trusted comparable to the Virgin of the Middle Ages, then that symbol was certainly the dynamo;

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but he could do no more than to wonder with his slightly self-conscious and wholly intellectual skepticism what this fact might mean. But where Adams was ice, O'Neill is fire. It is his nature to question, not with his mind alone, but with the whole of his being. He can answer the question only by throwing himself into the experiment, by embracing for a moment this possible faith, and by thus experiencing what it would be to put one's trust in electricity. Hence his hero is no mere inquiring mind but a longing soul as well. He abases himself before the new deity and cries out to it for knowledge and comfort. He asks, as men have always asked their god, that it give him some sign of concern with him and his needs, that it allow him to understand its purpose and share its being; but he gets neither more nor less than his father before him had got from Jehovah—moments of exaltation, moments of awe, and after them destruction and death. Dynamo too is god, and to be god means to be relentless, inscrutable, and, in a profound sense, inhuman as well.

The outward events of the story are simple enough. In a flash of lightning the young man loses the faith and the fear which had tortured and yet sustained his father. All his life he has lived under humming wires and he follows them back to their origin in the power-house. But as he works there day after day he falls under a sort of hypnotic spell. If electricity is the new god then he is a servant in his temple and the relentlessly purring dynamo holds the ultimate secret. Like all idols it must be placated, and perhaps when it has discovered one man who has made himself acceptable it will speak. But various as are the gods to whom men have called, men have themselves never imagined but a very few ways of pleasing them. To Jehovah, to Buddha, to Jesus, or to Dynamo one can offer only self-abnegation and renunciation of the flesh. Our hero tries both, torturing himself as his father before him had done; and when he fails there remains but one thing—immolation. In remorse and despair he thrusts his hands into the bowels of the inscrutable idol and, grasping one of the magic brushes in his hand, dies amid brightly leaping sparks. But the bitterest thing is not death. It is the fact that one must die without knowing that which one died to know. Dynamo, still inscrutable, purrs on.

So much the play may with reasonable certainty be said to mean. Beyond that, to some it may say also what it certainly said to me—that to change gods changes less than one might at first suppose. They have a way of demanding much the same things of their worshipers, and these worshipers have a way of demanding the same things of them; but it is still impossible for any candid soul to know whether its offerings are received or its questions answered. Dynamo is, in one respect, different from those elemental phenomena of nature to which men of former times have offered up their prayers, for Dynamo was made by man himself and ought therefore to be more understandable. But the strangest thing of all is the fact that he is not. Man made him and man may, within limits, control him, yet he, too, eludes and escapes. He seems to have forgotten that he was devised by a human brain; he pours forth his power like the sun or the sea; and he hums a song to himself. There is a secret which he will not communicate because, perhaps, it is not communicable. All nature seems to conspire to keep man shut out. He is aware of all her phenomena but she is not aware of him and with her self-sufficiency she mocks his need for communication and fellowship. Fathomless sky, burning sun, and whirling generator—they are all alike. Their business is not man's, passionately as he needs to believe that it is.

Lee Simonson's setting for the last act of "Dynamo" calls for special comment. Its realistic and yet decorative use of switches, insulators, and cables is an unspectacular triumph.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LECTURES

Lecture
"The Modern Indian Renaissance"
by
Mme. Sarojini Naidu

Mme. Naidu was the first woman president of the Indian National Congress. She is a co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi, a poet, a feminist, a humanitarian, and an impassioned orator. She is the author of: "The Golden Threshold," "The Bird of Time," and "The Broken Wing." Sponsored by Edmund Gosse, she was elected a Fellow of The Royal Society of Literature of England. Her poems have been translated into many languages and have been set to music by famous composers.

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International Relations Section

The Riots in Bombay

By T. H. K. REZMIE

THE awakening of India's masses is now an established fact, and events in that country are taking a serious turn. The recent carnival of blood and fire in the city of Bombay, lurid accounts of which were dutifully cabled by British news agencies to the United States, was the most sanguinary and significant occurrence in many years. With 116 killed and 700 wounded the Bombay riots take a place in Indian history with the massacre of Amritsar. Though propagandists have sought to describe these riots as motivated by religious and communal animosities, even a cursory survey of the events of the preceding year will be enough to furnish the true explanation of the unfortunate mob violence which has taken place.

It will be recalled that the appointment by the present Tory Government of an All-British Royal Commission to investigate the workings of the reforms granted in 1919 was universally and vehemently resented by Indians. The arrival of the commission in Bombay a year ago was greeted by a nation-wide *hartal* (complete cessation of activity as a sign of mourning). A unanimous appeal by leaders of all shades of public opinion was responded to with the greatest enthusiasm and masses were organized for boycott demonstrations everywhere. As the commission, headed by Sir John Simon, entered on its itinerary, citizens of Poona, Madras, Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Calcutta, in short all the principal cities visited, in their turn successfully emulated the example set by Bombay. In each city scores of thousands of men, women, and boys gathered near railway stations displaying black banners and shouting "Simon, go back!" as the commissioners alighted from trains. Unsympathetic Indian police under the command of hostile English officers attacked these unarmed crowds in several places and with clubs and lances foot and mounted police corps inflicted injuries on these admittedly peaceful protestants. At Lahore charging police officers fatally injured the well-known Nationalist leader and member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Lala Lajpat Rai, and at Lucknow seriously wounded, among others, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, secretary of the Indian National Congress. But the boycott of the commission has gone on apace and is becoming increasingly stricter, with none but the government-controlled men, toadies, and a few scared religious leaders paying any attention to its proceedings. The native press has even resolved to banish its reports from its columns. This is a triumph of mass action.

Behind the recent riots, in addition to this general anti-British movement, lies the epoch-making struggle of the peasants of Bardoli District, in Bombay Presidency. When the revision of land-revenue schedules by a single revenue officer, acting in camera, increased the taxes to a confiscatory degree, the peasants of Bardoli declared a campaign of non-payment of taxes. Illiterate and ignorant though they were, they placed themselves under the leadership of a lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi and took oaths of non-violence, pledging themselves to undergo all sufferings, without lifting a finger but without yielding an inch. For eight long months they kept up the fight, neither sowing nor reaping in their fields, which in most cases had been confiscated and auctioned off. Their properties were seized and despoiled by revenue men. Their leaders were arrested and imprisoned after farcical trials. Their stocks of seed and sheep were taken away from them. And their cows—to them more sacred than to any other sect of Hindus—beaten to death before their very eyes. But they refused to retaliate. The majority of the law-officers in these cases were Moslem Pathans from Bombay. The brutality of the Pathans added bitterness to the natural anger against the losses suffered by the peasants. The entire country became aroused and offered to help make good this unique challenge of a handful of unarmed men and women to the mightiest of the empires. At last the government of Bombay yielded and accepted the popular demand for an open, impartial, and judicial inquiry into the land revision question before increased taxes should be paid. The battle of the masses had been won and a landmark had been established in Indio-British relations.

Almost simultaneously with the Bardoli struggle, mill-workers of Bombay had to wage a long and bitter fight against foreign and native capitalists who own the jute and cotton mills in and around the city. The causes of the dispute here were, as is so often the case, an increase in the number of working hours, a reduction of personnel, and reduction of salaries. The laboring population of Bombay is drawn from all parts of the Presidency. A great many had come from the District of Bardoli, too. That fact and the spirit of self-defense made them fighters. Within a few days of the breaking down of negotiations 150,000 workers were on the streets. Unarmed, as all Indian crowds always of necessity are, they roamed about and attended their demonstrations and meetings. The police, helping their natural allies, the employers, used force to maintain "order" by the most disorderly method. The auxiliary branch of the police had a good many Pathans in it and the workers knew well how cruel they were. But though the strike lasted for several months and at times privations made the strikers desperate, they did not indulge in violence of any kind. When the situation became very acute, leaders of the community prevailed upon the government of Bombay to stress the need of a settlement upon employers, and, after long pourparlers and compromises, more or less satisfactory adjustments were reached. The event was a monument to the organization and stamina of the mass movement in Bombay.

This, briefly, was the situation and the mental condition of the laborers in Bombay mills when a strike took place in the plant of the British Burmah Shell Oil Company. The concern immediately recruited "new" hands in the city to replace the strikers, and many of the strike-breakers were Pathans. A clash between the striking Hindu mill-workers and the strike-breaking Pathans of Bardoli and Bombay ill-fame was inevitable.

A few days later some interested parties circulated the rumor that the Pathans were kidnapping children to use for

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sacrificial purposes. That the Pathans are Moslems—rugged and fighting stalwarts from the northwestern frontier of India—and therefore forbidden human sacrifice in any shape or form, must have been clear to the authors of the rumor, but the Hindu laborers could be counted upon either not to know it or to be too inflamed at the news to ponder over the matter. The news spread like wild fire, and according to the news dispatches from that city and the propaganda mills in London the workers became a mob of frenzied men roaming the streets, hunting Pathans, and killing them wherever found. Panic ensued and the population became frightened and desperate. Street brawls grew into cases of homicide and murder. Places of worship were desecrated and feelings ran high on both sides. In the million and a half population of Bombay there are only about a thousand Pathans, and the Moslem population held aloof. Yet the dispatches continuously insisted on the theory that the riots were motivated by religious hatred and that the British military and police had to fire to prevent the two communities from tearing each other to pieces. The large number of casualties could not possibly have resulted from the sporadic and weaponless fights of such an unequal combat. The main portion of them can probably be traced to the machine-guns and bayonets, the handbags, the barbed-wire entanglements, the armored cars, and military pickets, in describing which the war correspondent of a London daily exultantly says the scenes match any he saw in France. But whatever the aftermath of the outbreak it is clear that the reasons for it were not chiefly religious, and that purely economic discontent mixed with hatred for a group of indiscriminating bullies aiding the arch-oppressor of their country led to the riots. And the seven hundred arrests of riot promoters promise that the court proceedings will give us the opportunity of learning the whole truth.

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"Must Married Women Be Lazy?", by La Mar Warrick

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